Central BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
presented by

DR. ROBERT G. TORBET

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

THE REVOLUTION IN 1688.

BY

DAVID HUME, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS; J. M. RICHARDSON; HATCHARD AND SON; S. BAGSTER AND SON; F. AND J. RIVINGTON; HAMILTON AND CO.; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.; W. H. ALLEN AND CO.; WHITTAKER AND CO.; E. HODGSON; BIGG AND SON; T. BUMPUS; J. DOWDING; J. BAIN; SMITH, ELDER, AND CO; J. CAPES AND SON; R. MACKIE; H. WASHBOURNE; J. HEARNE; W. PICKERING; H. G. BOHN; W. MORRISON; T. AND W. BOONE; BICKERS AND BUSH; SOTHERAN AND CO; J. SNOW; L. BOOTH; W. WHITE; G. WILLIS; WALLER AND SON; M. COOMES; TEGG AND CO: AND G. AND J. ROBINSON, LIVERPOOL: J. AND J. J. DEIGHTON; AND MACMILLAN AND CO., CAMBRIDGE: AND J. PARKER, OXFORD.

1848.

LIBRARY
CENTRAL BAPTIST SEMINARY
KANSAS CITY 2, KANSAS

942
H921
V. 4

CONTENTS

OF

VOL IV.

CHAPTER XLI.

ELIZABETH.

Affairs of Scotland.—Spanish Affairs.—Sir Francis Drake.—A Parliament.—Negotiations of Marriage with the Duke of Anjou.—Affairs of Scotland.—Letter of Queen Mary to Elizabeth.—Conspiracies in England.—A Parliament.—The Ecclesiastical Commission.—Affairs of the Low Countries.—Hostilities with Spain . . . . Page 1

CHAPTER XLII.

Zeal of the Catholics.—Babington's Conspiracy.—Mary assents to the Conspiracy.—The Conspirators seized and executed.—Resolution to try the Queen of Scots.—The Commissioners prevail on her to submit to the Trial.—The Trial.—Sentence against Mary.—Interposition of King James.—Reasons for the Execution of Mary.—The Execution.—Mary's Character.—The Queen's affected Sorrow.—Drake destroys the Spanish Fleet at Cadiz.—Philip projects the Invasion of England.—The Invincible Armada.—Preparations in England.—The Armada arrives in the Channel—Defeated.—A Parliament.—Expedition against Portugal.—Affairs of Scotland 44

CHAPTER XLIII.

French Affairs.—Murder of the Duke of Guise.—Murder of Henry III.—Progress of Henry IV.—Naval Enterprises against Spain.—A Parliament.—Henry IV. embraces the Catholic Religion.—Scotch Affairs.—Naval Enterprises.—A Parliament.—Peace of Vervins.—The Earl of Essex 104

10479

CHAPTER XLIV.

State of Ireland.—Tyrone's Rebellion.—Essex sent over to Ireland. —His ill Success.—Returns to England—Is Disgraced.—His Intrigues.—His Insurrection.—His Trial and Execution.—French Affairs.—Mountjoy's Success in Ireland.—Defeat of the Spaniards and Irish.—A Parliament.—Tyrone's Submission.—Queen's Sickness—and Death—and Character . . Page 138

APPENDIX III.

Government of England.—Revenues.— Commerce.—Military Force. —Manufactures.—Learning 184

CHAPTER XLV.

JAMES I.

Introduction.—James's first Transactions.—State of Europe.—Rosni's Negotiations.—Raleigh's Conspiracy.—Hampton-Court Conference.—A Parliament.—Peace with Spain 219

CHAPTER XLVI.

Gunpowder Conspiracy.—A Parliament.—Truce between Spain and the United Provinces.—A Parliament.—Death of the French King.—Arminianism.—State of Ireland 242

CHAPTER XLVII.

Death of Prince Henry.—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Palatine.—Rise of Somerset.—His Marriage.—Overbury poisoned.—Fall of Somerset.—Rise of Buckingham.—Cautionary Towns delivered.—Affairs of Scotland 268

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition.—His Execution.—Insurrections in Bohemia.—Loss of the Palatinate.—Negotiations with Spain.—A Parliament.—Parties.—Fall of Bacon.—Rupture between the King and the Commons.—Protestation of the Commons . 293

CHAPTER XLIX.

Negotiations with regard to the Marriage and the Palatinate.—Character of Buckingham.—Prince's Journey to Spain.—Marriage Treaty broken.—A Parliament.—Return of Bristol.—Rupture with Spain.—Treaty with France.—Mansfeldt's Expedition. —Death of the King.—His Character . . . . Page 317

APPENDIX

TO THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

Civil Government of England during this Period.—Ecclesiastical Government. — Manners. — Finances. — Navy. — Commerce.— Manufactures.—Colonies.—Learning and Arts 345

CHAPTER L.

CHARLES I.

A Parliament at Westminster.—At Oxford.—Naval Expedition against Spain.—Second Parliament.—Impeachment of Buckingham.—Violent Measures of the Court.—War with France.—Expedition to the Isle of Rhé 380

CHAPTER LI.

Third Parliament.—Petition of Right.—Prorogation.—Death of Buckingham.—New Session of Parliament.—Tonnage and Poundage.—Arminianism.—Dissolution of the Parliament . . 412

CHAPTER LII.

Peace with France.—Peace with Spain.—State of the Court and Ministry.—Character of the Queen.—Strafford.—Laud.—Innovations in the Church.—Irregular Levies of Money.—Severities in the Star-Chamber and High Commission.—Ship Money.— Trial of Hambden 445

CHAPTER LIII.

Discontents in Scotland.—Introduction of the Canons and Liturgy.— A Tumult at Edinburgh.—The Covenant.—A General Assembly. —Episcopacy abolished.—War.—A Pacification.—Renewal of the War.—Fourth English Parliament.—Dissolution.—Discontents in England.—Rout at Newburn.—Treaty of Rippon.—Great Council of the Peers 479

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XLI.

ELIZABETH.

Affairs of Scotland.—Spanish Affairs.—Sir Francis Drake.—A Parliament.—Negotiations of Marriage with the Duke of Anjou.—Affairs of Scotland.—Letter of Queen Mary to Elizabeth.—Conspiracies in England.—A Parliament.—The Ecclesiastical Commission.—Affairs of the Low Countries.—Hostilities with Spain.

CHAP. XLI. 1580.

The greatest and most absolute security that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the scene began now to be more overcast, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

Affairs of Scotland.

The Earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in strict alliance with the queen, and had also restored domestic tranquillity to that kingdom. But it was not to be expected that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itself in a country unacquainted with law and order, where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes so often met with opposition and control. The nobility began anew to break into factions: the people were disgusted with some instances of Morton's avarice: and the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and increased the discontent of the other orders. The regent was sensible of his dangerous situation; and having dropped some peevish expressions, as if he were

1580.

willing or desirous to resign, the noblemen of the opposite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this concession, and required that demission which he seemed so frankly to offer them. James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having secured himself, as he imagined, by a general pardon, resigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the administration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government, and seemed to employ himself entirely in the care of his domestic affairs; but, either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared insipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off dissimulation, he came again to court; acquired an ascendant in the council; and, though he resumed not the title of regent, governed with the same authority as before. The opposite party, after holding separate conventions, took to arms on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and restoring him to the free exercise of his government: Queen Elizabeth interposed by her ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept possession of the government: but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority seemed to become every day more precarious.

The Count d'Aubigney, of the house of Lenox, cousin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good address and a sweet disposition, he appeared to the Duke of Guise a proper instrument for detaching James from the English interest, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He no sooner appeared at Stirling, where James resided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and joining his interest with those of James Stuart, of the house of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himself, under the appearance of play and amusement, in instilling into the tender mind of the prince new sentiments of politics and government. He represented to him the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain thoughts either of resigning the crown into her hands,

1580.

or of associating her with him in the administration[a]. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might ensue from the prevalence of this interest in Scotland, sent anew Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and accusing d'Aubigney, now created Earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James against entertaining such suspicious and dangerous connexions[b]. The king excused himself by Sir Alexander Hume, his ambassador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared against him, was farther confirmed in his intention of overturning the English interest, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arrested in council, accused as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. He confessed that Bothwell had communicated to him the design, had pleaded Mary's consent, and had desired his concurrence; but he denied that he himself had ever expressed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuse for his concealing it, he alleged the danger of revealing the secret, either to Henry, who had no resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder[c]. Sir Thomas Randolph was sent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambassador, not content with discharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his persuasion, the Earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be assembled on the borders of England; but this expedient served only to hasten his sentence and execution[d]. Morton died with that constancy and resolution which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which was less disputed with regard to abilities than probity and virtue. But this conclusion of the scene happened not till the subsequent year.

Spanish affairs.

Elizabeth was, during this period, extremely anxious

---

[a] Digges, p. 412. 428. Melvil, p. 130.

[b] Spotswood, p. 309.

[c] Ibid. p. 314. Crawford, p. 333. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 54.

[d] Spotswood, p. 312.

1580.

on account of every revolution in Scotland; both because that country alone, not being separated from England by sea, and bordering on all the catholic and malecontent counties, afforded her enemies a safe and easy method of attacking her; and because she was sensible that Mary, thinking herself abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guises to have recourse to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and suffered, more exasperated against her. That he might retaliate the assistance which she gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had sent, under the name of the pope[e], a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and discontented with the English government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spanish general, San Josepho, built a fort in Kerry; and being there besieged by the Earl of Ormond, president of Munster, who was soon after joined by Lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After some assaults, feebly sustained, he surrendered at discretion; and Gray, who commanded but a small force, finding himself encumbered with so many prisoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the sword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred of the Irish: a cruelty which gave great displeasure to Elizabeth[f].

Sir Francis Drake.

When the English ambassador made complaints of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the new world. This man, sprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired considerable riches by depredations made in the isthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a sight of the Pacific Ocean, was so stimulated by ambition and avarice, that he scrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through those seas, so much unknown at that time to all the European nations[g]. By means of Sir Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her consent and approbation; and he set sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four able sailors[h]. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the same way homewards by which he had reached the Pacific Ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe, and the first commander-in-chief; for Magellan, whose ship executed the same adventure, died in his passage. His name became celebrated on account of so bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the resentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to persuade the queen that it would be more prudent to disavow the enterprise, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the prospect of sharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambassador, Mendoza, exclaimed against Drake's piracies, she told him that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole new world, and excluding thence all other European nations, who should sail thither, even with a view of exercising the most lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into those countries[i]. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, she caused part of the booty to be restored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants whom Drake had spoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had seized the money, and had employed part of it against herself in Ireland,

---

[e] Digges, p. 359. 370.

[f] Camden, p. 475. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 368.

[g] Camden, p. 478. Stowe, p. 689.

---

[h] Camden, p. 478. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 730. 748. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46.

[i] Camden, p. 480.

1581.

part of it in the pay of the Prince of Parma's troops, she determined to make no more restitutions.

There was another cause which induced the queen to take this resolution: she was in such want of money, that she was obliged to assemble a Parliament; a measure which, as she herself openly declared, she never embraced, except when constrained by the necessity of her affairs. The Parliament, besides granting her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, enacted some statutes for the security of her government, chiefly against the attempts of the Catholics. Whoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treason; to say mass was subjected to the penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being present was punishable by a year's imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred marks; a fine of twenty pounds a month was imposed on every one who continued, during that time, absent from church [k]. To utter slanderous or seditious words against the queen was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence [l]. The puritans prevailed so far as to have farther applications made for reformation in religion [m]; and Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name who had distinguished himself in the preceding session, moved, that the Commons, from their own authority, should appoint a general fast and prayers; a motion to which the House unwarily assented. For this presumption they were severely reprimanded by a message from the queen, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and supremacy; and they were obliged to submit, and ask forgiveness [n].

16th Jan. A Parliament.

The queen and Parliament were engaged to pass these severe laws against the Catholics by some late discoveries of the treasonable practices of their priests. When the ancient worship was suppressed, and the reformation introduced into the universities, the King of Spain reflected, that as some species of literature was necessary

---

[k] 23 Eliz. cap. 1.

[l] Ibid. cap. 2.

[m] D'Ewes, p. 302.

[n] Ibid. p. 284, 285.

1581.

for supporting these doctrines and controversies, the Romish communion must decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the ecclesiastics; and for this reason he founded a seminary at Doüay, where the Catholics sent their children, chiefly such as were intended for the priesthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The Cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like seminary in his diocese of Rheims; and though Rome was somewhat distant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the same nature, that capital of orthodoxy. These seminaries, founded with so hostile an intention, sent over every year a colony of priests, who maintained the Catholic superstition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen, whom they treated as an usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematized by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purposes against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the Catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghostly fathers, such violent doctrines.

These seminaries were all of them under the direction of the jesuits, a new order of regular priests erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side, and that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society more active and more learned to oppose its dangerous progress. These men, as they stood foremost in the contest against the Protestants, drew on them the extreme animosity of that whole sect; and by assuming a superiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even exposed to the envy of their brethren: so that it is no wonder, if the blame, to which their principles and conduct might be exposed, has in

CHAP. XLI. 1581.

many instances been much exaggerated. This reproach, however, they must bear from posterity, that, by the very nature of their institution, they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy against superstition, into a nourishment of that infirmity; and as their erudition was chiefly of the ecclesiastical and scholastic kind, (though a few members have cultivated polite literature,) they were only the more enabled, by that acquisition, to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, and to erect a regular system of casuistry, by which prevarication, perjury, and every crime, when it served their ghostly purposes, might be justified and defended.

The jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and, by maintaining his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds, either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous Catholics in England, that the excommunication fulminated against Elizabeth excited many scruples of a singular kind, for which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive, that, by this clause, they were obliged in conscience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two jesuits, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples, that, though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partizans, it did not oblige the Catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons, to require it[o]. Campion was afterwards detected in treasonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confessing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the Duke of Anjou was in England, and prosecuted, with the greatest appearance of success, his marriage with the queen; and this severity was probably intended to appease her Protestant subjects, and to satisfy them, that, whatever measures she might pursue, she never would depart from the principles of the reformation.

---

[o] Camden, p. 477.

1581.
Negotiations of marriage with the Duke of Anjou.

The Duke of Alençon, now created Duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretensions to Elizabeth; and that princess, though her suitor was near twenty-five years younger than herself, and had no knowledge of her person but by pictures or descriptions, was still pleased with the image, which his addresses afforded her of love and tenderness. The duke, in order to forward his suit, besides employing his brother's ambassador, sent over Simier, an agent of his own, an artful man, of an agreeable conversation; who, soon remarking the queen's humour, amused her with gay discourse, and instead of serious political reasonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his master's interest, he introduced every moment all the topics of passion and of gallantry. The pleasure which she found in this man's company soon produced a familiarity between them; and amidst the greatest hurry of business, her most confidential ministers had not such ready access to her, as had Simier, who, on pretence of negotiation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the Duke of Anjou. The Earl of Leicester, who had never before been alarmed with any courtship paid her, and who always trusted that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, began to apprehend, that she was at last caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement which she had given to this young suitor had, unawares, engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himself of the credulity of the times, and spread reports that that minister had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by incantations and love-potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to discredit Leicester with the queen; and he revealed to her a secret, which none of her courtiers dared to disclose, that this nobleman was secretly, without her consent, married to the widow of the Earl of Essex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of respect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which so provoked her,

CHAP. XLI. 1581.

that she threatened to send him to the Tower[p]. The quarrel went so far between Leicester and the French agent, that the former was suspected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it necessary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened, that while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier and some of her courtiers, a shot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen finding, upon inquiry, that the piece had been discharged by accident, gave the person his liberty, without farther punishment. So far was she from entertaining any suspicion against her people, that she was often heard to say, "that she would lend credit to nothing against them, which parents would not believe of their own children[q]."

The Duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favour, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and after some conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared, that though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by being personally known to her; and, soon after, she commanded Burleigh, now treasurer, Sussex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to concert with the French ambassadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had sent over, on this occasion, a splendid embassy, consisting of Francis de Bourbon, Prince Dauphin, and many considerable noblemen; and as the queen had, in a manner, the power of prescribing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon settled with the English commissioners. It was agreed that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue should have the exercise of their religion; that after the marriage he should bear the title of king, but the administration remain solely in the queen; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be King of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years; that the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England[r].

---

[p] Camden, p. 471.

[q] Idem, ibid.

These articles, providing for the security of England in case of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a dismal prospect to the English; had not the age of Elizabeth, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed very much to allay their apprehensions of this nature. The queen, also, as a proof of her still remaining uncertainty, added a clause, that she was not bound to complete the marriage, till farther articles, which were not specified, should be agreed on between the parties, and till the King of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen sent over Walsingham, as ambassador to France, in order to form closer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league, offensive and defensive, against the increasing power and dangerous usurpations of Spain. The French king, who had been extremely disturbed with the unquiet spirit, the restless ambition, the enterprising yet timid and inconstant disposition of Anjou, had already sought to free the kingdom from his intrigues, by opening a scene for his activity in Flanders; and having allowed him to embrace the protection of the states, had secretly supplied him with men and money for the undertaking. The prospect of settling him in England was, for a like reason, very agreeable to that monarch; and he was desirous to cultivate, by every expedient, the favourable sentiments which Elizabeth seemed to entertain towards him. But this princess, though she had gone farther in her amorous[s] dalliance than could be justified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a final conclusion; and she confined Walsingham in his instructions, to negotiating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England[t]. Henry with reluctance submitted to hold conferences on that subject; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle the terms of alliance, than he was informed that the queen, fore-

---

[r] Camden, p. 484.

[s] Digges, p. 387. 396. 408. 426.

[t] Ibid. p. 352.

1581.

seeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, had declared that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage [u]. The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negotiation for the marriage [w]. But matters had not long proceeded in this train, before the queen again declared for the league, in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walsingham to renew the conferences for that purpose. Before he had leisure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of resolution [x]; and not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Burleigh, and all the wisest ministers of Elizabeth, were in amazement, doubtful where this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition, would at last terminate [y].

In the course of this affair, Elizabeth felt another variety of intentions, from a new contest between her reason and her ruling passions. The Duke of Anjou expected from her some money, by which he might be enabled to open the campaign in Flanders: and the queen herself, though her frugality made her long reluctant, was sensible that this supply was necessary; and she was at last induced, after much hesitation, to comply with his request [z]. She sent him a present of a hundred thousand crowns, by which, joined to his own demesnes, and the assistance of his brother and the queen-dowager, he levied an army, and took the field against the Prince of Parma. He was successful in raising the siege of Cambray; and being chosen by the states governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter-quarters, and came over to England, in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect entire success, and gave him hopes that Elizabeth had surmounted all scruples, and was finally determined to make choice of him for her husband. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it

17th Nov.

---

[u] Digges, p. 375. 391. [w] Ibid. p. 392. [x] Ibid. p. 408.

[y] See note [A], at the end of the volume.

[z] Digges, p. 357. 387, 388. 409. 426. 439. Rymer, xv. p. 793.

1581.

upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambassador from the states, despatched immediately a letter to his masters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who, as well as the other Flemings, regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, testified their joy by bonfires and the discharge of their great ordnance [a]. A puritan of Lincoln's-inn had written a passionate book, which he entitled "The Gulf in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." He was apprehended and prosecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Such was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and, waving it over his head, cried "God save the queen."

But, notwithstanding this attachment, which Elizabeth so openly discovered to the Duke of Anjou, the combat of her sentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rousing itself by intervals, still filled her breast with doubt and hesitation. Almost all the courtiers whom she trusted and favoured, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, discovered an extreme aversion to the marriage: and the ladies of her bedchamber made no scruple of opposing her resolution with the most zealous remonstrances [b]. Among other enemies to the match, Sir Philip, son of Sir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leicester, a young man, the most accomplished of the age, declared himself; and he used the freedom to write her a letter, in which he dissuaded her from her present resolution, with an unusual elegance of expression, as well as force of reasoning. He told her, that the security of her government depended entirely on the affections of her Protestant subjects; and she could not, by any measure, more effectually disgust them, than by espousing a prince, who was son of the perfidious Catherine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himself imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceless Protestants: that

---

[a] Camden, p. 486. Thuan, lib. 74.

[b] Camden, p. 486.

1581.

the Catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed, either that she had originally usurped the crown, or was now lawfully deposed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and nothing had ever so much elevated their hopes as the prospect of her marriage with the Duke of Anjou: that her chief security at present, against the efforts of so numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they possessed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterprises; and she herself was rashly supplying that defect, by giving an interest in the kingdom to a prince whose education had zealously attached him to that communion: that though he was a stranger to the blood royal of England, the dispositions of men were now such that they preferred the religious to the civil connexions; and were more influenced by sympathy in theological opinions, than by the principles of legal and hereditary government: that the duke himself had discovered a very restless and turbulent spirit; and having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his sovereign, there remained no hopes that he would passively submit to a woman, whom he might, in quality of husband, think himself entitled to command: that the French nation, so populous, so much abounding in soldiers, so full of nobility, who were devoted to arms, and for some time accustomed to serve for plunder, would supply him with partisans dangerous to a people unwarlike and defenceless, like the generality of her subjects: that the plain and honourable path which she had followed, of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign secure and happy; and however her enemies might seem to multiply upon her, the same invincible rampart was still able to protect and defend her: that so long as the throne of France was filled by Henry, or his posterity, it was in vain to hope that the ties of blood would ensure the amity of that kingdom, preferably to the maxims of policy or the prejudices of religion; and if ever the crown devolved on the Duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burden rather than a protection to the latter kingdom: that the example of her sister Mary was sufficient to instruct her in the danger of such connexions; and to prove that the affection and confidence of the English could never be

1581.

maintained, where they had such reason to apprehend that their interests would every moment be sacrificed to those of a foreign and hostile nation: that notwithstanding these great inconveniences, discovered by past experience, the house of Burgundy, it must be confessed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and what was of chief moment, Philip was of the same communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of interest and affection: and that, however the queen might remain childless, even though old age should grow upon her, the singular felicity and glory of her reign would preserve her from contempt: the affections of her subjects, and those of all the Protestants in Europe, would defend her from danger; and her own prudence, without other aid or assistance, would baffle all the efforts of her most malignant enemies[c].

These reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irresolution; and she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep or repose. At last her settled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having sent for the Duke of Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her; threw away the ring which she had given him; and uttered many curses on the mutability of women, and of islanders[d]. Soon after, he went over to his government of the Netherlands; lost the confidence of the states, by a rash and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died. The queen, by timely reflection, saved herself from the numerous mischiefs which must have attended so imprudent a marriage; and the distracted state of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that resentment which she had reason to dread from the affront so wantonly put upon that royal family.

1582. Affairs of Scotland.

The anxiety of the queen, from the attempts of the English Catholics, never ceased during the whole course of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which hap-

---

[c] Letters of the Sidneys, vol. i. p. 287, et seq. Cabala, p. 363.
[d] Camden, p. 486.

1582. pened in all the neighbouring kingdoms was the source, sometimes of her hopes, sometimes of her apprehensions. This year the affairs of Scotland strongly engaged her attention. The influence which the Earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now assumed the title of Earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a slender foundation of authority, while the generality of the nobles and all the preachers were so much discontented with their administration. The assembly of the church appointed a solemn fast; of which one of the avowed reasons was, the danger to which the king was exposed from the company of wicked persons[e]; and on that day the pulpits resounded with declamations against Lenox, Aug. 23. Arran, and all the present counsellors. When the minds of the people were sufficiently prepared by these lectures, a conspiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James at Ruthven, a seat of the Earl of Gowry's; and the design, being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. The leaders in this enterprise were the Earl of Gowry himself, the Earl of Marre, the Lords Lindesey and Boyd, the Masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the Abbots of Dumfermling, Paisley, and Cambuskenneth. The king wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but the Master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears; better that boys weep than bearded men:" an expression which James could never afterwards forgive[f]. But, notwithstanding his resentment, he found it necessary to submit to the present necessity. He pretended an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the associators; acknowledged the detention of his person to be acceptable service; and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church and a convention of estates, in order to ratify that enterprise.

The assembly, though they had established it as an inviolable rule, that the king, on no account and on no pretence, should ever intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters, made no scruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding, on this occasion, that the attempt of the conspirators was acceptable to all

---

[e] Spotswood, p. 319.

[f] Ibid. p. 320.

1582.

that feared God, or tendered the preservation of the king's person, and prosperous state of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend these sentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with ecclesiastical censures every man who should oppose the authority of the confederated lords[g]. The convention, being composed chiefly of these lords themselves, added their sanction to these proceedings. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house: Lenox, though he had power to resist, yet rather than raise a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed[h], chose to retire into France, where he soon after died. He persevered to the last in the Protestant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottish clergy could never be persuaded that he had sincerely embraced. The king sent for his family, restored his son to his paternal honours and estate, took care to establish the fortunes of all his other children; and to his last moments never forgot the early friendship which he had borne their father: a strong proof of the good dispositions of that prince[i].

No sooner was this revolution known in England, than the queen sent Sir Henry Cary and Sir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counsels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the seeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permission for the return of the Earl of Angus, who, ever since Morton's fall, had lived in England. They easily prevailed in procuring the recall of Angus; and as James suspected that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought proper before the English ambassadors to dissemble his resentment against the authors of it. Soon after, La Mothe-Fenelon and Menneville appeared as ambassadors from France: their errand was to inquire concerning the situation of the king, make professions of their master's friendship, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the Queen of Scots. This last proposal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and

1583.

---

[g] Spotswood, p. 322.

[h] Heylin's Hist. Presbyter. p. 277. Spotswood.

[i] Ibid. p. 328.

1583.

the assembly voted the settling of terms between the mother and son to be a most wicked undertaking. The pulpits resounded with declamations against the French ambassadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the messenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the Duke of Guise: and as that minister, being knight of the Holy Ghost, wore a white cross on his shoulder, they commonly denominated it, in contempt, the badge of Antichrist. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repress these insolent reflections; but in order to make the ambassadors some compensation, he desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to give them a splendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment, the clergy appointed that very day for a public fast; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their sermons in thundering curses on the magistrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of respect on the ambassadors. They even pursued them afterwards with the censures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from issuing the sentence of excommunication against them, on account of their submission to royal, preferably to clerical, authority[k].

Letter of Mary to Elizabeth.

What increased their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary was, that the English ambassadors seemed to concur with the French in this proposal; and the clergy were so ignorant as to believe the sincerity of the professions made by the former. The Queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more spirited strain than usual; craving the assistance of that princess both for her own and her son's liberty. She said, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her most tender concern; and the experience which she herself, during so many years, had of the extreme infelicity attending that situation, had made her the more apprehensive lest a like fate should pursue her unhappy offspring: that the long train of injustice which she had undergone, the calumnies to which she had been exposed, were so grievous, that, finding no place for right or truth among men, she was reduced to make her last appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal jurisdiction, degree, and dignity: that after her rebellious subjects, secretly instigated by Elizabeth's ministers, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in prison, had pursued her with arms, she had voluntarily thrown herself under the protection of England; fatally allured by those reiterated professions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generosity of a friend, an ally, and a kinswoman: that, not content with excluding her from her presence, with supporting the usurpers of her throne, with contributing to the destruction of her faithful subjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worse captivity than that from which she had escaped, and had made her this cruel return for the unlimited confidence which she had reposed in her: that though her resentment of such severe usage had never carried her farther than to use some disappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy for herself, and fatal to others, she found the rigours of confinement daily multiplied upon her, and at length carried to such a height, that it surpassed the bounds of all human patience any longer to endure them: that she was cut off from all communication, not only with the rest of mankind, but with her only son; and her maternal fondness, which was now more enlivened by their unhappy sympathy in situation, and was her sole remaining attachment to this world, deprived even of that melancholy solace which letters or messages could give: that the bitterness of her sorrows, still more than her close confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the insufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all those other calamities under which she laboured: that while the daily experience of her maladies opened to her the comfortable prospect of an approaching deliverance into a region where pain and sorrow are no more, her enemies envied her that last consolation; and, having secluded her from every joy on earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all hopes in her future and eternal existence: that the exercise of her religion was refused her; the use of those sacred rites

---

[k] Spotswood, p. 324.

CHAP. XLI. 1583.

in which she had been educated; the commerce with those holy ministers whom Heaven had appointed to receive the acknowledgment of our transgressions, and to seal our penitence by a solemn re-admission into heavenly favour and forgiveness: that it was in vain to complain of the rigours of persecution exercised in other kingdoms, when a queen and an innocent woman was excluded from an indulgence which never yet, in the most barbarous countries, had been denied to the meanest and most obnoxious malefactor: that could she ever be induced to descend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which she could appeal from all her enemies; to the justice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breast, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counsel, she would naturally be induced to exercise towards her: and that she finally entreated her to resume her natural disposition, and to reflect on the support, as well as comfort, which she might receive from her son and herself, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, she would deign to raise them from their present melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled[1].

Elizabeth was engaged to obstruct Mary's restoration, chiefly because she foresaw an unhappy alternative attending that event. If this princess recovered any considerable share of authority in Scotland, her resentment, ambition, zeal, and connexions both domestic and foreign, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England, and enable her, after suppressing the Protestant party among her subjects, to revive those pretensions which she had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her partisans in both kingdoms still supported with great industry and assurance. If she were reinstated in power with such strict limitations as could not be broken, she might be disgusted with her situation; and, flying abroad, form more desperate attempts than any sovereign who had a crown to hazard would willingly undertake. Mary herself, sensible of these difficulties, and convinced by experience that Elizabeth would for

---

[1] Camden, p. 489.

1583.

ever debar her the throne, was now become more humble in her wishes; and as age and infirmities had repressed those sentiments of ambition by which she had formerly been so much actuated, she was willing to sacrifice all her hopes of grandeur, in order to obtain a little liberty: a blessing to which she naturally aspired with the fondest impatience. She proposed, therefore, that she should be associated with her son in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the administration should remain solely in him; and she was content to live in England in a private station, and even under a kind of restraint; but with some more liberty, both for exercise and company, than she had enjoyed since the first discovery of her intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid lest such a loose method of guarding her would facilitate her escape into France or Spain, or, at least, would encourage and increase her partisans, and enable her to conduct those intrigues to which she had already discovered so strong a propensity, was secretly determined to deny her requests; and, though she feigned to assent to them, she well knew how to disappoint the expectations of the unhappy princess. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, she never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottish queen[m]: at present, when her own creatures had acquired possession of the government, she was resolved to throw the odium of refusal upon them; and pretending that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation, than the concurrence of the council of state in Scotland, she ordered her ambassador, Bowes, to open the negotiation for Mary's liberty, and her association with her son in the title to the crown. Though she seemed to make this concession to Mary, she refused her the liberty of sending any ambassador of her own; and that princess could easily conjecture from this circumstance what would be the result of the pretended negotiation. The privy council of Scotland, instigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed, that he had never agreed to an association with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than some loose proposals for that purpose[n].

---

[m] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 540.

1583. The affairs of Scotland remained not long in the present situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The Earls of Argyle, Marshal, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party found themselves unable to resist so powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their submission, and an acknowledgment of their fault in seizing the king's person, and restraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: the greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country, and took shelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The Earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malecontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that by their resistance they had thrown all power into the hands of a person whose counsels were as violent as his manners were profligate[o].

Elizabeth wrote a letter to James; in which she quoted a moral sentence from Isocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconstancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, justified his measures; and retaliated by turning two passages of Isocrates against *her*[p]. She next sent Walsingham on an embassy to him; and her chief purpose in employing that aged minister in an errand where so little business was to be transacted, was to learn, from a man of so much penetration and experience, the real character of James. This young prince possessed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and industry which his station required; and as he excelled in general discourse and conversation, Walsingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real business was transacted, to have fully merited[q]. The account which he gave his mistress induced her to treat James thenceforth with some more regard than she had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

---

[n] MS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 3. 28. p. 401, from the Cot. Lib. Calig. c. 9.
[o] Spotswood, p. 325, 326, et seq.
[p] Melvil, p. 140, 141. Strype, vol. iii. p. 165.
[q] Melvil, p. 148. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 530.

1584.

The King of Scots, persevering in his present views, summoned a Parliament; where it was enacted, that no clergyman should presume in his sermons to utter false, untrue, or scandalous speeches against the king, the council, or the public measures, or to meddle, in an improper manner, with the affairs of his majesty and the states[r]. The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a sanctuary for them, were extremely offended; they said that the king was become popish in his heart; and they gave their adversaries the epithets of gross libertines, belly-gods, and infamous persons[s]. The violent conduct of Arran soon brought over the popularity to their side. The Earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to prison, was tried on some new accusations, condemned and executed. Many innocent persons suffered from the tyranny of this favourite; and the banished lords, being assisted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their estates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and, being admitted to the king's presence, were pardoned and restored to his favour.

Arran was degraded from authority; deprived of that estate and title which he had usurped; and the whole country seemed to be composed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after opposing, during some time, the credit of the favourite, had found it more expedient, before his fall, to compound all differences with him, by means of Davison, a minister whom she sent to Scotland; but having more confidence in the lords whom she had helped to restore, she was pleased with this alteration of affairs; and maintained a good correspondence with the new court and ministry of James.

Conspiracies in England.

These revolutions in Scotland would have been regarded as of small importance to the repose and security of Elizabeth, had her own subjects been entirely united, and had not the zeal of the Catholics, excited by constraint more properly than persecution, daily threatened her with some dangerous insurrection. The vigilance

---

[r] Spotswood, p. 333.

[s] Ibid. p. 334.

1584.

of the ministers, particularly of Burleigh and Walsingham, was raised in proportion to the activity of the malecontents; and many arts, which had been blameable in a more peaceful government, were employed in detecting conspiracies, and even discovering the secret inclinations of men. Counterfeit letters were written in the name of the Queen of Scots, or of the English exiles, and privately conveyed to the houses of the Catholics: spies were hired to observe the actions and discourse of suspected persons: informers were countenanced: and though the sagacity of these two great ministers helped them to distinguish the true from the false intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to, and all the subjects, particularly the Catholics, kept in the utmost anxiety and inquietude. Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before, and Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the Queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treasonable designs, immediately withdrew beyond sea. Throgmorton confessed that a plan for an invasion and insurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was desirous of retracting this confession, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty, and executed. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, having promoted this conspiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was sent into Spain, to excuse his dismission, and to desire the king to send another ambassador in his place; but Philip would not so much as admit the English ambassador to his presence. Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, coming over on board a vessel, which was seized, tore some papers, with an intention of throwing them into the sea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ship, they were pieced together, and discovered some dangerous secrets[t].

Many of these conspiracies were, with great appear-

---

[t] Camden, p. 499.

1584.

ance of reason, imputed to the intrigues of the Queen of Scots[u]; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not use too many precautions against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that trust, had also been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise: and she was committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible in their care and attention. An association was also set on foot by the Earl of Leicester and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous Catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the subscription of it. The purport of this association was to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion, or for whose behoof, any violence should be offered to her majesty[w]. The Queen of Scots was sensible that this association was levelled against her; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she also desired to subscribe it.

23d Nov. A Parliament.

Elizabeth, that she might the more discourage malecontents, by showing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, summoned a new Parliament; and she met with that dutiful attachment which she expected. The association was confirmed by Parliament; and a clause was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her: upon condemnation, pronounced by these commissioners, the guilty person was excluded from all claim to the succession, and was farther punishable as her majesty should direct. And for the greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason[x].

A severe law was also enacted against jesuits and

---

[u] Strype, vol. iii. p. 246.

[w] State Trials, vol. i. p. 122, 123.

[x] 27 Eliz. cap. 1.

CHAP. XLI. 1584.

popish priests. It was ordained that they should depart the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or relieved them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop, or two justices, should be guilty of treason; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void[y]. By this law the exercise of the Catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partisans of that princess asserted that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treasonable views and attempts of the sect, not that every individual who suffered the penalty of the law was convicted of treason[z]. The Catholics, therefore, might now with justice complain of a violent persecution; which we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigoted maxims of that age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion.

The Parliament, besides arming the queen with these powers, granted her a supply of one subsidy and two-fifteenths. The only circumstance in which their proceedings were disagreeable to her, was an application made by the Commons for a farther reformation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her as well as them in a delicate point, they discovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the House were puritans, or inclined to that sect[a]; but the severe reprimands which they had already, in former sessions, met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an encroachment on the prerogative: they were content to proceed, by way of humble petition, and that not addressed to her majesty, which would have given offence, but to the House of Lords, or rather the bishops, who had a seat in that House, and from whom alone they were willing to receive all advances towards reformation[b]: a strange departure from what we now apprehend to be the dignity of the Commons.

---

[y] 27 Eliz. cap. 2.

[z] Some even of those who defend the queen's measures allow, that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished. Camden, p. 649.

[a] Besides the petition after-mentioned, another proof of the prevalency of the

The Commons desired, in their humble petition, that no bishop should exercise his function of ordination but with the consent and concurrence of six presbyters: but this demand, as it really introduced a change of ecclesiastical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They desired that no clergyman should be instituted into any benefice without previous notice being given to the parish, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: an attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the same fate. In another article of the petition, they prayed that the bishops should not insist upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the service: as if uniformity in public worship had not been established by law; or as if the prelates had been endowed with a dispensing power. They complained of abuses which prevailed in pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of some law for the remedy of these abuses; implying that those matters were too high for the Commons of themselves to attempt.

But the most material article which the Commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of ecclesiastical commission and the oath, *ex officio*, as it was

---

puritans among the Commons was, their passing a bill for the reverent observance of Sunday, which they termed the Sabbath, and the depriving the people of those amusements which they were accustomed to take on that day. D'Ewes, p. 335. It was a strong symptom of a contrary spirit in the Upper House, that they proposed to add Wednesday to the fast-days, and to prohibit entirely the eating of flesh on that day. D'Ewes, p. 373.

[b] D'Ewes, p. 357.

called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation.

1584. The ecclesiastical court.

The first primate after the queen's accession was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575; and was succeeded by Grindal, who as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of *prophesyings*, or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses, which she apprehended had become so many academies of fanaticism; and for this offence she had, by an order of the star-chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall into the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes. He informed the queen that all the spiritual authority lodged in the prelates was insignificant without the sanction of the crown; and as there was no ecclesiastical commission at that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new one, more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority[c]. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; three commissioners made a quorum; the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms; in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines which they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no control. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage; and the punishments which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In a word, this court was a real *inquisition*, attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. And as the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this imperious princess; and had no other foundation than a clause of a statute, restoring the supremacy to the crown, and empowering the sovereign to appoint commissioners for exercising that prerogative. But prerogative in general, especially the supremacy, was supposed in that age to involve powers which no law, precedent, or reason, could limit and determine.

---

[c] Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 410.

But though the Commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched so gently and submissively on the ecclesiastical grievances, the queen, in a speech from the throne at the end of the session, could not forbear taking notice of their presumption, and reproving them for those murmurs, which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced so low, as not directly to reach her

1584.

royal ears. After giving them some general thanks for their attachment to her, and making professions of affection to her subjects, she told them that whoever found fault with the church, threw a slander upon her, since she was appointed *by God* supreme ruler over it, and no heresies or schisms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permission and negligence: that some abuses must necessarily have place in every thing; but she warned the prelates to be watchful; for if she found them careless of their charge, she was fully determined to depose them: that she was commonly supposed to have employed herself in many studies, particularly philosophical, (by which I suppose she meant theological,) and she would confess that few, whose leisure had not allowed them to make profession of science, had read or reflected more: that as she could discern the presumption of many, in curiously canvassing the Scriptures, and starting innovations, she would no longer endure this licentiousness; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, in the just mean between the corruptions of Rome, and the errors of modern sectaries: and that as the Romanists were the inveterate enemies of her person, so the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and, under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and to censure the actions of the prince[d].

From the whole of this transaction we may observe, that the Commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in some particular articles of their petition, showed themselves wholly ignorant, no less than the queen, of the principles of liberty, and a legal constitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the Parliament against the ecclesiastical commission, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission; in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners[e].

During this session of Parliament there was discovered a conspiracy, which much increased the general animosity against the Catholics, and still farther widened the breach

---

[d] See note [B], at the end of the volume.

[e] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 292. 386. 400.

CHAP. XLI.

1584.

between the religious parties. William Parry, a Catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and, having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palmio, a jesuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and his benefactress; the nuncio, Campeggio, when consulted, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though still agitated with doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his bloody purpose. He was here encouraged in the design by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit in the party; and though Watts and some other Catholic priests told him that the enterprise was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the nuncio at Paris, and determined to persist in his resolution. He here wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to Cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father; and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. He received an answer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpose was extremely applauded; and he came over to England with a full design of carrying it into execution. So deeply are the sentiments of morality engraved in the human breast, that it is difficult even for the prejudices of false religion totally to efface them; and this bigoted assassin resolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the persecutions under which the Catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her; and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to give the Romanists some more indulgence in the exercise of their religion: but, lest he should be tempted, by the opportunity, to assassinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offensive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of Parliament, and having made a vehement harangue against the severe laws enacted this last session, was committed to custody for his freedom, and sequestered from the House. His

1584.

failure in these attempts confirmed him the more in his former resolution; and he communicated his intention to Nevil, who entered zealously into the design, and was determined to have a share in the merits of its execution. A book, newly published by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, served farther to efface all their scruples with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and having agreed to shoot the queen while she should be taking the air on horseback, they resolved, if they could not make their escape, to sacrifice their lives in fulfilling a duty so agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the Earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that, by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours, which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from Cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all question; and that criminal, having received sentence of death[f], suffered the punishment which the law appointed for his treasonable conspiracy[g].

These bloody designs now appeared every where as the result of that bigoted spirit by which the two religions, especially the Catholic, were at this time actuated. Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwick, somewhat disordered in his understanding, had heard so much of the merit attending the assassination of heretics and persecutors, that he came to London with a view of murdering the queen; but having betrayed his design by some extravagances, he was thrown into prison, and there perished by a voluntary death[h]. About the same time, Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the same design against the Prince of Orange; and that great man perished at Delft by the hands of a desperate assassin, who, with a resolution worthy of a better cause,

The affairs of the Low Countries.

---

[f] State Trials, vol. i. p. 103, et seq. Strype, vol. iii. p. 255, et seq.

[g] See note [C], at the end of the volume.

[h] Camden, p. 495.

sacrificed his own life in order to destroy the famous restorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings, who regarded that prince as their father, were filled with great sorrow, as well when they considered the miserable end of so brave a patriot, as their own forlorn condition from the loss of so powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progress of the Spanish arms. The Prince of Parma had made every year great advances upon them, had reduced several of the provinces to obedience, and had laid close siege to Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands, whose subjection, it was foreseen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes which remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign succour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better success in France; and, in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered him the sovereignty of their provinces. But the present condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject so advantageous an offer. The Duke of Anjou's death, which he thought would have tended to restore public tranquillity, by delivering him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepest distress; and the King of Navarre, a professed Hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the Duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himself, though a zealous Catholic, yet, because he declined complying with their precipitate measures, became an object of aversion to the league; and as his zeal in practising all the superstitious observances of the Romish church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life, the Catholic faction, in contradiction to universal experience, embraced thence the pretext of representing his devotion as mere deceit and hypocrisy. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to declare war against the Hugonots, and to put arms into the hands of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretensions at home, and their close alliance with Philip, he secretly regarded as his most dangerous enemies.

1584.

1585.

1585.

Constrained by the same policy, he dreaded the danger of associating himself with the revolted Protestants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revenging himself for all the hostile intrigues and enterprises of Philip.

The states, reduced to this extremity, sent over a solemn embassy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth's wisest counsellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct which she should hold in this critical and important emergence. Some advised her to reject the offer of the states, and represented the imminent dangers, as well as injustice, attending the acceptance of it. They said, that the suppression of rebellious subjects was the common cause of all sovereigns, and any encouragement given to the revolt of the Flemings might prove the example of a like pernicious licence to the English: that, though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppress their subjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their sovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or disgust, or even from the justest ground of complaint, their obedience to any other master: that the queen, in the succours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had considered them as labouring under oppression, not as entitled to freedom: and had intended only to admonish Philip not to persevere in his tyranny, without any view of ravishing from him those provinces which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his ancestors: that her situation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch sufficient opportunity of retaliating upon her; and she must thenceforth expect that, instead of secretly fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the Catholics: that the pope would undoubtedly unite his spiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: and that the queen would soon repent her making so precarious an acquisition in foreign countries, by exposing her own dominions to the most imminent danger[1].

Other counsellors of Elizabeth maintained a contrary opinion. They asserted, that the queen had not, even from the beginning of her reign, but certainly had not at present, the choice, whether she would embrace friendship or hostility with Philip: that, by the whole tenor of that prince's conduct, it appeared that his sole aims were the extending of his empire, and the entire subjection of the Protestants, under the specious pretence of maintaining the catholic faith: that the provocations which she had already given him, joined to his general scheme of policy, would for ever render him her implacable enemy; and as soon as he had subdued his revolted subjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with the whole force of his united empire, on her defenceless state: that the only question was, whether she would maintain a war abroad, and supported by allies, or wait till the subjection of all the confederates of England should give her enemies leisure to begin their hostilities in the bowels of the kingdom: that the revolted provinces, though in a declining condition, possessed still considerable force; and by the assistance of England, by the advantages of their situation, and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might still be enabled to maintain the contest against the Spanish monarchy: that their maritime power, united to the queen's, would give her entire security on the side from which alone she could be assaulted, and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies: that a war which was necessary could never be unjust; and self-defence was concerned, as well in preventing certain dangers at a distance, as in repelling any immediate invasion: and that, since hostility with Spain was the unavoidable consequence of the present interests and situations of the two monarchies, it were better to compensate that danger and loss by the acquisition of such important provinces to the English empire [k].

---

[1] Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

Amidst these opposite counsels, the queen, apprehensive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and though such conduct is seldom prudent, she was not, in this resolution, guided by any prejudice or mistaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she

---

[k] Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

1585.

deemed so closely connected with her own: but foreseeing that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, imputations which hitherto she had carefully avoided, she immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the states on the following conditions: that she should send over an army to their assistance, of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the states: that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expenses should be refunded after the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins should in the meantime be consigned into her hands, by way of security.

The queen knew that this measure would immediately engage her in open hostilities with Philip; yet was not she terrified with the view of the present greatness of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal, besides securing internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom to Philip's dominions, had made him master of many settlements in the East Indies, and of the whole commerce of those regions, and had much increased his naval power, in which he was before chiefly deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of subjection under him, and seemed to possess their sovereignty on terms somewhat precarious. The Austrian branch in Germany, with their dependent principalities, was closely connected with him, and was ready to supply him with troops for every enterprise. All the treasures of the West Indies were in his possession; and the present scarcity of the precious metals in every country of Europe rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extensive. The Netherlands seemed on the point of relapsing into servitude; and small hopes were entertained of their withstanding those numerous and veteran armies which, under the command of the most experienced generals, he employed

1585.

against them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Austrian greatness, had lost all her force from intestine commotions; and as the Catholics, the ruling party, were closely connected with him, he rather expected thence an augmentation than a diminution of his power. Upon the whole, such prepossessions were everywhere entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the King of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, that she had now taken the diadem from her head, and had ventured it upon the doubtful chance of war[1]. Yet was this princess rather cautious than enterprising in her natural temper: she needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than restrained by the prudence, of her ministers: but when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimous courage; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole force of the catholic monarch.

The Earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland at the head of the English auxiliary forces. He carried with him a splendid retinue; being accompanied by the young Earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the Lords Audley and North, Sir William Russel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Clifton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received, on his arrival at Flushing, by his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which he passed expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen's protection had brought them the most certain deliverance. The states, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still farther in their defence, and knowing the interest which Leicester possessed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him in some respects as their sovereign. But this step had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was displeased with the artifice of the states, and the ambition of Leicester. She severely reprimanded both, and it was with some difficulty that, after many humble submissions, they were able to appease her.

---

[1] Camden, p. 508.

1585. Hostilities with Spain.

America was regarded as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in that quarter. The great success of the Spaniards and Portuguese in both Indies had excited a spirit of emulation in England; and as the progress of commerce, still more that of colonies, is slow and gradual, it was happy that a war in this critical period had opened a more flattering prospect to the avarice and ambition of the English, and had tempted them, by the view of sudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterprises. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies: two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, engaged on board it; Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Christopher Carlisle, commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprise; and found in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They sailed to Hispaniola; and, easily making themselves masters of St. Domingo by assault, obliged the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands after some more resistance, and was treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coast of Florida. Sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and industry on which they are founded, they had here been so unsuccessful, that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with so much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries as served extremely to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprises. The great mor-

1586. January.

CHAP. XLI. 1586.

tality which the climate had produced in his fleet was, as is usual, but a feeble restraint on the avidity and sanguine hopes of young adventurers [m]. It is thought that Drake's fleet first introduced the use of tobacco into England.

The enterprises of Leicester were much less successful than those of Drake. This man possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him by the queen; and as he was the only bad choice she made for any considerable employment, men naturally believed that she had here been influenced by an affection still more partial than that of friendship. He gained at first some advantage in an action against the Spaniards: and threw succours into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence; but the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert, rendered all these efforts useless. He capitulated after a feeble resistance; and, being tried for his conduct, suffered a capital punishment from the sentence of a court-martial. The prince of Parma next undertook the siege of Venlo, which was surrendered to him after some resistance. The fate of Nuys was more dismal, being taken by assault while the garrison was treating of a capitulation. Rhimberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of Colonel Morgan, was afterwards besieged by the Spaniards; and Leicester, thinking himself too weak to attempt raising the siege, endeavoured to draw off the Prince of Parma by forming another enterprise. He first attacked Doesburgh, and succeeded: he then sat down before Zutphen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress that he hastened to its relief. He made the Marquis of Guasto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but, falling by accident on a body of English cavalry, a furious action ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted, and the Marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the advance of the Prince of Parma with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compensated by the

---

[m] Camden, p. 509.

1586.

loss of Sir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died. This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the Earl of Leicester was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, *This man's necessity is still greater than mine;* and resigned to him the bottle of water. The King of Scots, struck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on the death of that young hero.

The English, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were strongly possessed of military genius; and the advantages gained by the Prince of Parma were not attributed to the superior bravery and discipline of the Spaniards, but solely to the want of military abilities in Leicester. The states were much discontented with his management of the war, still more with his arbitrary and imperious conduct, and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redress of all their grievances. But Leicester, without giving them any satisfaction, departed soon after for England[n].

The queen, while she provoked so powerful an enemy as the King of Spain, was not forgetful to secure herself on the side of Scotland; and she endeavoured both to cultivate the friendship and alliance of her kinsman James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt which she had made some time before was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had despatched Wotton as her

---

[n] Camden, p. 512. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

1586.

ambassador to Scotland; but though she gave him private instructions with regard to her affairs, she informed James, that when she had any political business to discuss with him she would employ another minister; that this man was not fitted for serious negotiations; and that her chief purpose in sending him was to entertain the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake, without reserve, of his pleasures and amusements. Wotton was master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. When but a youth of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambassador in France, during the reign of Mary, to ensnare the constable, Montmorency; and had not his purpose been frustrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged minister. It is no wonder that, after years had improved him in all the arts of deceit, he should gain an ascendant over a young prince of so open and unguarded a temper as James; especially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception. He was admitted into all the pleasures of the king; made himself master of his secrets; and had so much the more authority with him in political transactions, as he did not seem to pay the least attention to these matters. The Scottish ministers, who observed the growing interest of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendship; and scrupled not to sacrifice to his intrigues the most essential interests of their master. Elizabeth's usual jealousies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled against James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, she was apprehensive lest, by being strengthened with children and alliances, he should acquire the greater interest and authority with her English subjects. She directed Wotton to form a secret concert with some Scottish noblemen, and to procure their promise that James, during three years, should not on any account be permitted to marry. In consequence of this view, they endeavoured to embroil him with the King of Denmark, who had sent ambassadors to Scotland on pretence of demanding restitution of the Orkneys, but really with a

1586.

view of opening a proposal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is said to have employed his intrigues to purposes still more dangerous. He formed, it is pretended, a conspiracy with some malecontents to seize the person of the king, and to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the design, but would have been sure to retain him in perpetual thraldom, if not captivity. The conspiracy was detected, and Wotton fled hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king[o].

James's situation obliged him to dissemble his resentment of this traitorous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him soon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negotiations for a strict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendship, she granted him a pension equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the Countess of Lenox, lately deceased[p]. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was stipulated that, if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse and six thousand foot; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom, so far as religion was concerned[q].

By this league James secured himself against all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the confidence and affections of the English, and might entertain some prospect of domestic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never

---

[o] Melvil.

[p] Spotswood, p. 351.

[q] Spotswood, p. 349. Camden, p. 513. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 803.

1586.

expect long to enjoy. Besides the turbulent disposition and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of the Scottish government, the spirit of fanaticism had introduced a new disorder; so much the more dangerous, as religion, when corrupted by false opinion, is not restrained by any rules of morality, and is even scarcely to be accounted for in its operations by any principles of ordinary conduct and policy. The insolence of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had, at this time, reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance so far, not only against the king, but against the whole civil power, that they excommunicated the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had been active in Parliament for promoting a law which restrained their seditious sermons[r]. Nor could that prelate save himself by any expedient from this terrible sentence, but by renouncing all pretensions to ecclesiastical authority. One Gibson said in the pulpit, that Captain James Stuart (meaning the late Earl of Arran) and his wife, Jezebel, had been deemed the chief persecutors of the church; but it was now seen that the king himself was the great offender; and for this crime the preacher denounced against him the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race[s].

The secretary Thirlstone, perceiving the king so much molested with ecclesiastical affairs, and with the refractory disposition of the clergy, advised him to leave them to their own courses; for that in a short time they would become so intolerable, that the people would rise against them, and drive them out of the country. "True," replied the king: "if I purposed to undo the church and religion, your counsel were good; but my intention is to maintain both; therefore cannot I suffer the clergy to follow such a conduct as will, in the end, bring religion into contempt and derision[t]."

---

[r] Spotswood, p. 345, 346.

[s] Ibid. p. 344.

[t] Ibid. p. 348.

CHAPTER XLII.

Zeal of the Catholics.—Babington's Conspiracy.—Mary assents to the Conspiracy.—The Conspirators seized and executed.—Resolution to try the Queen of Scots.—The Commissioners prevail on her to submit to the Trial.—The Trial.—Sentence against Mary.—Interposition of King James.—Reasons for the Execution of Mary.—The Execution.—Mary's Character.—The Queen's affected Sorrow.—Drake destroys the Spanish Fleet at Cadiz.—Philip projects the Invasion of England.—The Invincible Armada.—Preparations in England.—The Armada arrives in the Channel.—Defeated.—A Parliament.—Expedition against Portugal.—Affairs of Scotland.

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

The dangers which arose from the character, principles, and pretensions of the Queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to consult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princess, the dictates of jealousy and politics, rather than of friendship or generosity: resentment of this usage had pushed Mary into enterprises which had nearly threatened the repose and authority of Elizabeth: the rigour and restraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen[a], still impelled her to attempt greater extremities; and while her impatience of confinement, her revenge[b], and her high spirit concurred with religious zeal, and the suggestions of desperate bigots, she was at last engaged in designs which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reason for effecting her final ruin.

Zeal of the Catholics.

The English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of rage and animosity against the queen. The recent persecutions from which they had escaped; the new rigours which they knew awaited them in the course of their missions; the liberty, which at present they enjoyed, of declaiming against that princess; and the contagion of that religious fury which every where surrounded them in France: all these causes had obliterated with them every maxim of common sense, and every principle of morals or humanity. Intoxicated

---

[a] Digges, p. 139. Haynes, p. 607.

[b] See note [D], at the end of the volume.

1586.

with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and deposed the queen; and some of them had gone to that height of extravagance as to assert, that that performance had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of that princess in particular, was represented as the most meritorious of all enterprises; and they taught, that whoever perished in such pious attempts enjoyed, without dispute, the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By such doctrines, they instigated John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who had served some years in the Low Countries under the Prince of Parma, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this assassin, having made a vow to persevere in his design, was sent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous Catholics.

About the same time, John Ballard, a priest of that seminary, had returned to Paris, from his mission in England and Scotland; and as he had observed a spirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the Catholic devotees in these countries, he had founded on that disposition the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring, by force of arms, the exercise of the ancient religion[c]. The situation of affairs abroad seemed favourable to this enterprise. The pope, the Spaniard, the Duke of Guise, concurring in interests, had formed a resolution to make some attempt against England; and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succours from these princes. Charles Paget alone, a zealous Catholic, and a devoted partisan of the Queen of Scots, being well acquainted with the prudence, vigour, and general popularity of Elizabeth, always maintained, that so long as that princess was allowed to live, it was in vain to expect any success from an enterprise upon England. Ballard, persuaded of this truth, saw more clearly the necessity of executing the design formed at Rheims: he came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of Captain Fortescue; and he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion [d].

---

[c] Murden's State Papers, p. 517.

1586. Babington's conspiracy.

The first person to whom he addressed himself was Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby. This young gentleman was of a good family, possessed a plentiful fortune, had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station. Being zealously devoted to the Catholic communion, he had secretly made a journey to Paris some time before; and had fallen into intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a bigoted fugitive from England, and with the Bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of France. By continually extolling the amiable accomplishments and heroical virtues of that princess, they impelled the sanguine and unguarded mind of young Babington to make some attempt for her service; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal, to give him a contempt of those dangers which attended any enterprise against the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding him well disposed for their purpose, they sent him back to England, and secretly, unknown to himself, recommended him to the Queen of Scots, as a person worth engaging in her service. She wrote him a letter full of friendship and confidence; and Babington, ardent in his temper, and zealous in his principles, thought that these advances now bound him in honour to devote himself entirely to the service of that unfortunate princess. During some time, he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correspondence; but after she was put under the custody of Sir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced so much difficulty and danger in rendering her this service, that he had desisted from every attempt of that nature.

When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not extinguished: his former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprise which seemed to promise success in the cause of Mary and of the Catholic religion. He had entertained sentiments conformable to those of Paget, and represented the folly of all attempts which, during the lifetime of

---

[d] Camden, p. 515.

Elizabeth, could be formed against the established religion and government of England. Ballard, encouraged by this hint, proceeded to discover to him the design undertaken by Savage[e]; and was well pleased to observe, that instead of being shocked with the project, Babington only thought it not secure enough, when entrusted to one single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage in this desperate enterprise.

In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many Catholic gentlemen discontented with the present government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancashire, and Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household, readily undertook the assassination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Tichbourne, of Southampton, when the design was proposed to them, expressed some scruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refused, during some time, to share the glory of the enterprise with any others[f]; he challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty he was induced to depart from this preposterous ambition.

The deliverance of the Queen of Scots at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated was requisite for effecting the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horse, to attack her guards while she should be taking the air on horseback. In this enterprise he engaged Edward Windsor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne; most of them men of family and interest. The conspirators much wanted, but could not find, any nobleman of note whom they might place at the head of the enterprise; but they trusted that the great events of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance would rouse all the zealous Catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily fix the Queen of Scots on the throne, and re-establish the ancient religion.

---

[e] Camden, p. 515. State Trials, p. 114.

[f] State Trials, vol. i. p. 111.

These desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state. That artful minister had engaged Maud, a Catholic priest, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the designs entertained by the fugitives. Polly, another of his spies, had found means to insinuate himself among the conspirators in England; and though not entirely trusted, had obtained some insight into their dangerous secrets. But the bottom of the conspiracy was never fully known till Gifford, a seminary priest, came over, and made a tender of his services to Walsingham. By his means the discovery became of the utmost importance, and involved the fate of Mary, as well as of those zealous partisans of that princess.

Babington and his associates, having laid such a plan as they thought promised infallible success, were impatient to communicate the design to the Queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation and concurrence. For this service they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of that minister might forward his secret correspondence with Mary. Walsingham proposed the matter to Paulet, and desired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his servants; but Paulet, averse to the introducing of such a pernicious precedent into his family, desired that they would rather think of some other expedient. Gifford found a brewer, who supplied the family with ale, and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's contrivance, were thrust through a chink in the wall; and answers were returned by the same conveyance.

Ballard and Babington were at first diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters: but finding by the answers that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all farther scruple, and conveyed by his hands the most criminal and dangerous parts of their conspiracy. Babington informed Mary of the design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cause, and her majesty's service, would undertake the *tragical execution*. Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection[g]. These letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Francis Inglefield, were carried by Gifford to secretary Walsingham, were deciphered by the art of Philips, his clerk, and copies taken of them. Walsingham employed another artifice in order to obtain full insight into the plot: he subjoined to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cipher, in which he made her desire Babington to inform her of the names of the conspirators. The indiscretion of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of detection, as well as of defence. That gentleman had caused a picture to be drawn, where he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins: and a motto was subjoined, expressing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that she might know the assassins, and guard herself against their approach to her person.

Mary assents to the conspiracy.

Meanwhile, Babington, anxious to ensure and hasten the foreign succours, resolved to despatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under a feigned name, a licence to travel. In order to remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the Catholics to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes; and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, still fed him with hopes, and maintained a close correspondence with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety and concern. Some advised that they should immediately make their escape: others proposed that Savage and Charnoc should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy good clothes, and thereby have more easy access to the queen's person. Next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too hastily; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, was persuaded by that subtle minister, that the seizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the usual diligence of informers in the detection of popish and seminary priests. He even consented to take lodgings secretly in Walsingham's house, that they might have more frequent conferences together, before his intended departure for France; but observing that he was watched and guarded, he made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were soon discovered and thrown into prison. In their examinations they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed; of whom seven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence.

---

[g] State Trials, vol. i. p. 135. Camden, p. 515.

The conspirators seized and executed.

September.

The lesser conspirators being despatched, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of the Queen of Scots, on whose account and with whose concurrence these attempts had been made against the life of the queen and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of Elizabeth's counsellors were averse to this procedure; and thought that the close confinement of a woman who was become very sickly, and who would probably put a speedy period to their anxiety by her natural death, might give sufficient security to the government, without attempting a measure of which there scarcely remains any example in history. Leicester advised that Mary should be secretly despatched by poison, and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of that action; but Walsingham declared his abhorrence of it, and still insisted, in conjunction with the majority of the counsellors, for the open trial of the Queen of Scots.

The situation of England, and of the English ministers, had, indeed, been hitherto not a little dangerous. No successor of the crown was declared; but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; was, from multiplied provocations, an enemy to the ministers and principal nobility; and their personal safety, as well as the safety of the public, seemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now somewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counsellors, knowing themselves to be so obnoxious to the Queen of Scots, endeavoured to push every measure to extremities against her, and were even more anxious than the queen herself to prevent her from ever mounting the throne of England.

Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the Queen of Scots had been so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great surprise to her, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were discovered and arrested. He chose the time for giving her this intelligence when she was mounted on horseback to go a hunting; and she was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay castle, in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arrested: all her papers were seized, and sent up to the council: above sixty different keys to ciphers were discovered: there were also found many letters from persons beyond sea, and several too from English noblemen, containing expressions of respect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this latter discovery; but the persons themselves, knowing their correspondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than by declaring themselves thenceforth the most inveterate enemies of the Queen of Scots[h].

Resolution to try the Queen of Scots.

It was resolved to try Mary, not by the common

---

[h] Camden, p. 518.

1586.

statute of treasons, but by the act which had passed the former year with a view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy-counsellors, and empowered them to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom she denominated the late Queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commissioners came to Fotheringay castle, and sent to her Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet, and Edward Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commission, and of the approaching trial. Mary received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, that it seemed strange to her, that the queen should command her, as a subject, to submit to a trial and examination before subjects: that she was an absolute independent princess, and would yield to nothing which might derogate either from her royal majesty, from the state of sovereign princes, or from the dignity and rank of her son: that however oppressed by misfortunes, she was not yet so much broken in spirit as her enemies flattered themselves; nor would she, on any account, be accessary to her own degradation and dishonour: that she was ignorant of the laws and statutes of England; was utterly destitute of counsel; and could not conceive who were entitled to be called her peers, or could legally sit as judges on her trial: that though she had lived in England for many years, she had lived in captivity; and not having received the protection of the laws, she could not, merely by her involuntary residence in the country, be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction: that, notwithstanding the superiority of her rank, she was willing to give an account of her conduct before an English Parliament; but could not view these commissioners in any other light than as men appointed to justify, by some colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: and that she warned them to look to their conscience and their character in trying an innocent person; and to reflect, that these transactions would somewhere be subject to revisal, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England.

The commissioners

In return, the commissioners sent a new deputation, informing her that her plea, either from her royal dignity, or from her imprisonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to answer before them. Burleigh the treasurer, and Bromley the chancellor, employed much reasoning to make her submit; but the person whose arguments had the chief influence was Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His speech was to this purpose: "You are accused, madam," said he, "but not condemned, of having conspired the destruction of our lady and queen anointed. You say you are a queen; but in such a crime as this, and such a situation as yours, the royal dignity itself, neither by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nature or of nations, is exempt from judgment. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. We have been present at your protestations of innocence; but Queen Elizabeth thinks otherwise, and is heartily sorry for the appearances which lie against you. To examine, therefore, your cause, she has appointed commissioners; honourable persons, prudent and upright men, who are ready to hear you with equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice if you can clear yourself of the imputations which have been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen herself will rejoice, who affirmed to me, at my departure, that nothing which ever befel her had given her so much uneasiness, as that you should be suspected of a concurrence in these criminal enterprises. Laying aside, therefore, the fruitless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing, trust to the better defence of your innocence, make it appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory that stain of infamy which must attend your obstinate silence on this occasion[i]."

prevail on her to submit to the trial.

By this artful speech Mary was persuaded to answer before the court; and thereby gave an appearance of legal procedure to the trial, and prevented those difficulties which the commissioners must have fallen into, had she persevered in maintaining so specious a plea as that of her sovereign and independent character. Her conduct, in this particular, must be regarded as the more

---

[i] Camden, p. 523.

1586.

imprudent, because formerly, when Elizabeth's commissioners pretended not to exercise any jurisdiction over her, and only entered into her cause by her own consent and approbation, she declined justifying herself, when her honour, which ought to have been dearer to her than life, seemed absolutely to require it.

The trial.

On her first appearance before the commissioners, Mary, either sensible of her imprudence, or still unwilling to degrade herself by submitting to a trial, renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges: the chancellor answered her by pleading the supreme authority of the English laws over every one who resided in England; and the commissioners accommodated matters by ordering both her protestation and his answer to be recorded.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge against the Queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed Cardinal Allen and others to treat her as the Queen of England; and that she had kept a correspondence with Lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary seemed not anxious to clear herself from either of these imputations. She only said, that she could not hinder others from using what style they pleased in writing to her; and that she might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter of hers to Mendoza was next produced, in which she promised to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to be converted to the catholic faith; an event, she there said, of which there was no expectation, while he remained in the hands of his Scottish subjects[k]. Even this part of the charge she took no pains to deny, or rather she seemed to acknowledge it. She said that she had no kingdoms to dispose of; yet it was lawful for her to give at her pleasure what was her own, and she was not accountable to any for her actions. She added, that she had formerly rejected that proposal from Spain; but now, since all her hopes in England were gone, she was fully determined not to refuse foreign assistance. There was also produced evidence to prove, that Allen and

---

[k] State Trials, vol. i. p. 138.

Parsons were at that very time negotiating by her orders, at Rome, the conditions of transferring her English crown to the King of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son[l].

It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices against her son were at this time carried so far that she had even entered into a conspiracy against him, had appointed Lord Claud Hamilton Regent of Scotland, and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person, and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the King of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming catholic[m].

The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. This article, indeed, was the most heavy, and the only one that could fully justify the queen in proceeding to extremities against her. In order to prove the accusation, there were produced the following evidence: copies taken in secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confessed, without being put to any torture, both that she received these letters from Babington, and that they had written the answers by her order; the confession of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the answers[n]; and the confession of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had showed them these letters of Mary, written in the cipher which had been settled between them.

It is evident that this complication of evidence, though every circumstance corroborates the general conclusion, resolves itself finally into the testimony of the two secretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their mistress's concurrence in Babington's conspiracy, but who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them. In the case of an ordinary criminal, this proof, with all its disadvantages, would be esteemed legal, and even satisfac-

---

[l] See note [E], at the end of the volume.

[m] See note [F], at the end of the volume.

[n] State Trials, vol. i. p. 113.

1586.

tory, if not opposed by some other circumstances which shake the credit of the witnesses; but on the present trial, where the absolute power of the prosecutor concurred with such important interests, and such a violent inclination to have the princess condemned, the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, ought to be supported by strong probabilities, in order to remove all suspicion of tyranny and injustice. The proof against Mary, it must be confessed, is not destitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to account for Babington's receiving an answer written in her name, and in the cipher concerted between them, without allowing that the matter had been communicated to that princess. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has discovered every thing which could guide our judgment with regard to it: no wonder, therefore, that the Queen of Scots, unassisted by counsel, and confounded by so extraordinary a trial, found herself incapable of making a satisfactory defence before the commissioners. Her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial: whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened by her positively affirming, that she never had had any correspondence of any kind with Babington; a fact, however, of which there remains not the least question[o]. She asserted, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence against her ought not to be credited. She confessed, however, that Nau had been in the service of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the King of France as a man in whom she might safely confide. She also acknowledged Curle to be a very honest man, but simple, and easily imposed on by Nau. If these two men had received any letters, or had written any answers without her knowledge, the imputation, she said, could never lie on her. And she was the more inclined, she added, to entertain this suspicion against them, because Nau had, in other instances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to transact business in her name without communicating the matter to her[p].

---

[o] See note [G], at the end of the volume.
[p] See note [H], at the end of the volume.

The sole circumstance of her defence, which to us may appear to have some force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle should be confronted with her, and her affirming, that they never would to her face persist in their evidence. But that demand, however equitable, was not then supported by law in trials of high-treason, and was often refused even in other trials where the crown was prosecutor. The clause contained in an act of the 13th of the queen was a novelty; that the species of treason there enumerated must be proved by two witnesses, confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that act; and the ministers and crown lawyers of this reign were always sure to refuse every indulgence beyond what the strict letter of the law, and the settled practice of the courts of justice, required of them: not to mention, that these secretaries were not probably at Fotheringay castle during the time of the trial, and could not, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commissioners[q].

There passed two incidents in this trial which may be worth observing. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the Earl of Arundel and his brothers: on hearing their names, she broke into a sigh: "Alas!" said she, "what has the noble house of the Howards suffered for my sake!" She affirmed, with regard to the same letter, that it was easy to forge the handwriting and cipher of another: she was afraid that this was too familiar a practice with Walsingham, who, she also heard, had frequently practised both against her life and her son's. Walsingham, who was one of the commissioners, rose up. He protested, that in his private capacity he had never acted any thing against the Queen of Scots: in his public capacity, he owned, that his concern for his sovereign's safety had made him very diligent in searching out, by every expedient, all designs against her sacred person or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make use of the assistance of Ballard or any other con-

---

[q] Queen Elizabeth was willing to have allowed Curle and Nau to be produced in the trial, and writes to that purpose to Burleigh and Walsingham, in her letter of the 7th of October, in Forbes's MS. collections. She only says, that she thinks it needless, though she was willing to agree to it. The not confronting of the witnesses was not the result of design, but the practice of the age.

1586.

spirator; he would also reward them for betraying their companions. But if he had tampered in any manner unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, accuse him of such practices? Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by saying that she spoke from information; and she begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to such as slandered her, than she should to such as accused him. The great character, indeed, which Sir Francis Walsingham bears for probity and honour, should remove from him all suspicion of such base arts as forgery and subornation; arts which even the most corrupt ministers, in the most corrupt times, would scruple to employ.

25th Oct.

Having finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay castle, and met in the star-chamber at London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of those letters before produced, they pronounced sentence of death upon the Queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day a declaration was published by the commissioners and the judges, "that the sentence did nowise derogate from the title and honour of James, King of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced[r]."

Sentence against Mary.

The queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that situation which she had long ardently desired; and had found a plausible reason for executing vengeance on a competitor, whom, from the beginning of her reign, she had ever equally dreaded and hated. But she was restrained from instantly gratifying her resentment by several important considerations. She foresaw the invidious colours in which this example of uncommon jurisdiction would be represented by the numerous partisans of Mary, and the reproach to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. The rights of hospitality, of kindred, and of royal majesty, seemed, in one single instance, to be all violated; and this sacrifice of generosity to interest, of clemency to revenge, might appear equally unbecoming a sovereign and a woman. Elizabeth, therefore, who was an excellent hypocrite, pretended the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence; affected the most tender sympathy with her prisoner; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected the solicitation of her courtiers and ministers; and affirmed, that were she not moved by the deepest concern for her people's safety, she would not hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries which she herself had received from the Queen of Scots.

---

[r] Camden, p. 526.

29th Oct.

That the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of justice upon Mary, she summoned a new Parliament; and she knew, both from the usual dispositions of that assembly, and from the influence of her ministers over them, that she should not want the most earnest solicitation to consent to that measure which was so agreeable to her secret inclinations. She did not open this assembly in person, but appointed for that purpose three commissioners, Bromley the chancellor, Burleigh the treasurer, and the Earl of Derby. The reason assigned for this measure was, that the queen, foreseeing that the affair of the Queen of Scots would be canvassed in Parliament, found her tenderness and delicacy so much hurt by that melancholy incident, that she had not the courage to be present while it was under deliberation, but withdrew her eyes from what she could not behold without the utmost reluctance and uneasiness. She was also willing, that by this unusual precaution the people should see the danger to which her person was hourly exposed; and should thence be more strongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal whose restless intrigues and bloody conspiracies had so long exposed her to the most imminent perils[s].

The Parliament answered the queen's expectations: the sentence against Mary was unanimously ratified by both Houses; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's consent to its publication and execution[t]. She gave an answer, ambiguous, embarrassed; full of real artifice and seeming irresolution. She mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually exposed; she declared her willingness to die, did she

---

[s] D'Ewes, p. 375.

[t] Ibid. p. 379.

1586.

not foresee the great calamities which would thence fall upon the nation; she made professions of the greatest tenderness to her people; she displayed the clemency of her temper, and expressed her violent reluctance to execute the sentence against her unhappy kinswoman; she affirmed that the late law, by which that princess was tried, so far from being made to ensnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand not to engage in such attempts as might expose her to the penalties with which she was thus openly menaced; and she begged them to think once again, whether it were possible to find any expedient, besides the death of the Queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity[u]. The Parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under consideration, but could find no other possible expedient. They reiterated their solicitations, and entreaties, and arguments: they even remonstrated, that mercy to the Queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects and children; and they affirmed, that it were injustice to deny execution of the law to any individual, much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimously and earnestly suing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderness. This second address set the pretended doubts and scruples of Elizabeth anew in agitation: she complained of her own unfortunate situation; expressed her uneasiness from their importunity; renewed the professions of affection to her people; and dismissed the committee of Parliament in an uncertainty what, after all this deliberation, might be her final resolution[w].

But though the queen affected reluctance to execute the sentence against Mary, she complied with the request of Parliament in publishing it by proclamation; and this act seemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people. Lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk of the council, were sent to the Queen of Scots, and notified to her the sentence pronounced against her, its ratification by Parliament, and the earnest applications made for its execution by that assembly, who thought that their religion could never, while she was alive, attain a full settlement and security. Mary was nowise

---

[u] D'Ewes, p. 402, 403.

[w] See note [I], at the end of the volume.

1586.

dismayed at this intelligence: on the contrary, she joyfully laid hold of the last circumstance mentioned to her; and insisted, that since her death was demanded by the Protestants for the establishment of their faith, she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the English had often imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereigns: no wonder they exercised cruelty against her, who derived her descent from these monarchs[x]. Paulet, her keeper, received orders to take down her canopy, and to serve her no longer with the respect due to sovereign princes. He told her that she was now to be considered as a dead person, and incapable of any dignity[y]. This harsh treatment produced not in her any seeming emotion. She only replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it.

The Queen of Scots wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence: on the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requested some favours of Elizabeth, and entreated her that she might be beholden for them to her own goodness alone, without making applications to those ministers who had discovered such an extreme malignity against her person and her religion. She desired, that after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body, which it was determined should never enjoy rest while her soul was united to it, might be consigned to her servants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repose in a catholic land, with the sacred relics of her mother. In Scotland, she said, the sepulchres of her ancestors were violated, and the churches either demolished or profaned; and in England, where she might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, she could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with those rites and ceremonies which her religion required. She requested that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution should be public, and attended by her ancient servants, who might bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith, and of her submission to the will of Heaven. She begged that these servants might afterwards be allowed to depart whithersoever they pleased, and might enjoy those legacies which she should bequeath them. And she conjured her to grant these favours by their near kindred; by the soul and memory of Henry VII. the common ancestor of both; and by the royal dignity, of which they equally participated [z]. Elizabeth made no answer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refusal in her present situation, and foreseeing inconveniences from granting some of her requests.

---

[x] Camden, p. 528.

[y] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 293.

While the Queen of Scots thus prepared herself to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers, with Elizabeth, to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against her. Besides employing L'Aubespine, the French resident at London, a creature of the house of Guise, Henry sent over Bellievre, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The Duke of Guise and the league at that time threatened very nearly the king's authority; and Elizabeth knew, that though that monarch might, from decency and policy, think himself obliged to interpose publicly in behalf of the Queen of Scots, he could not secretly be much displeased with the death of a princess on whose fortune and elevation his mortal enemies had always founded so many daring and ambitious projects [a]. It is even pretended, that Bellievre had orders, after making public and vehement remonstrances against the execution of Mary, to exhort privately the queen, in his master's name, not to defer an act of justice so necessary for their common safety [b]. But whether the French king's intercession were sincere or not, it had no weight with the queen, and she still persisted in her former resolution.

Interposition of King James.

The interposition of the young King of Scots, though

---

[z] Camden, p. 529. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 295.

[a] Camden, p. 494.

[b] Du Maurier.

1586.

not able to change Elizabeth's determination, seemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As soon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent Sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bedchamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated, in very severe terms, against the indignity of the procedure. He said that he was astonished to hear of the presumption of English noblemen and counsellors, who had dared to sit in judgment and pass sentence upon a Queen of Scotland descended from the blood-royal of England; but he was still more astonished to hear that thoughts were seriously entertained of putting that sentence in execution: that he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the dishonour which she would draw on her name by imbruing her hands in the blood of her near kinswoman, a person of the same royal dignity and of the same sex with herself: that in this unparalleled attempt she offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own; and, by reducing sovereigns to a level with other men, taught the people to neglect all duty towards those whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: that, for his part, he must deem the injury and insult so enormous, as to be incapable of all atonement; nor was it possible for him thenceforward to remain in any terms of correspondence with a person, who, without any pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent; and that even if the sentiments of nature and duty did not inspire him with this purpose of vengeance, his honour required it of him; nor could he ever acquit himself in the eyes of the world, if he did not use every effort, and endure every hazard, to revenge so great an indignity[c].

Soon after, James sent the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvil, to enforce the remonstrances of Keith, and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth was at first offended with the sharpness of these applications, and she replied in a like strain to the Scottish ambassadors. When she afterwards reflected that this earnestness was no more than what duty required of James, she was pacified;

---

[c] Spotswood, p. 351.

1586.

but still retained her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary [d]. It is believed, that the master of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his master.

The queen also, from many considerations, was induced to pay small attention to the applications of James, and to disregard all the efforts which he could employ in behalf of his mother. She was well acquainted with his character and interests, the factions which prevailed among his people, and the inveterate hatred which the zealous Protestants, particularly the preachers, bore to the Queen of Scots. The present incidents set these dispositions of the clergy in a full light. James, observing the fixed purpose of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and, knowing the captious humour of the ecclesiastics, he took care that the form of the petition should be most cautious, as well as humane and charitable: "That it might please God to illuminate Mary with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." But, excepting the king's own chaplains, and one clergyman more, all the preachers refused to pollute their churches by prayers for a Papist, and would not so much as prefer a petition for her conversion. James, unwilling or unable to punish this disobedience, and desirous of giving the preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appointed a new day when prayers should be said for his mother; and, that he might at least secure himself from any insult in his own presence, he desired the Archbishop of St. Andrew's to officiate before him. In order to disappoint this purpose, the clergy instigated one Couper, a young man who had not yet received holy orders, to take possession of the pulpit early in the morning, and to exclude the prelate. When the king came to church, and saw the pulpit occupied by Couper, he called to him from his seat, and told him, that place was destined for another; yet since he was there, if he would obey the charge given, and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to divine service. The preacher replied, that he would do as the

---

[d] Spotswood, p. 353.

Spirit of God should direct him. This answer sufficiently instructed James in his purpose; and he commanded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper seemed not disposed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from his place; upon which the young man cried aloud, that this day would be a witness against the king in the great day of the Lord; and he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner[e]. The audience at first appeared desirous to take part with him; but the sermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane disposition.

Elizabeth, when solicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the Queen of Scots, seemed always determined to execute the sentence against her: but when her ministers urged her to interpose no more delays, her scruples and her hesitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace such violent and sanguinary measures; and she was touched with compassion for the misfortunes, and with respect for the dignity, of the unhappy prisoner. The courtiers, sensible that they could do nothing more acceptable to her, than to employ persuasion on this head, failed not to enforce every motive for the punishment of Mary, and to combat all the objections urged against this act of justice. They said that the treatment of that princess in England had been, on her first reception, such as sound reason and policy required; and if she had been governed by principles of equity, she would not have refused willingly to acquiesce in it: that the obvious inconveniences, either of allowing her to retire into France, or of restoring her by force to her throne, in opposition to the reformers and the English party in Scotland, had obliged the queen to detain her in England till time should offer some opportunity of serving her, without danger to the kingdom, or to the protestant religion: that her usage there had been such as became her rank; her own servants in considerable numbers had been permitted to attend her; exercise had been allowed her for health, and all access of company for amusement; and these indulgences would in time have been carried farther, if by her subsequent conduct she had appeared

Reasons for the execution of Mary.

---

[e] Spotswood, p. 354.

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

worthy of them: that after she had instigated the rebellion of Northumberland, the conspiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of Pope Pius, an invasion from Flanders; after she had seduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domestic, against her; it became necessary to treat her as a most dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more strict and rigorous: that the queen, notwithstanding these repeated provocations, had, in her favour, rejected the importunity of her Parliaments, and the advice of her sagest ministers[f]; and was still, in hopes of her amendment, determined to delay coming to the last extremities against her: that Mary, even in this forlorn condition, retained so high and unconquerable a spirit, that she acted as competitor to the crown, and allowed her partisans everywhere, and in their very letters, addressed to herself, to treat her as Queen of England: that she had carried her animosity so far as to encourage, in repeated instances, the atrocious design of assassinating the queen; and this crime was unquestionably proved upon her by her own letters, by the evidence of her secretaries, and by the dying confession of her accomplices: that she was but a titular queen, and at present possessed nowhere any right of sovereignty; much less in England, where, the moment she set foot in the kingdom, she voluntarily became subject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true sovereign: that even, allowing her to be still the queen's equal in rank and dignity, self-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and every one, still more a queen, had sufficient jurisdiction over an enemy who, by open violence, and still more by secret treachery, threatened the utmost danger against her life: that the general combination of the Catholics to exterminate the Protestants was no longer a secret; and as the sole resource of the latter persecuted sect lay in Elizabeth, so the chief hope which the former entertained of final success consisted in the person and in the title of the Queen of Scots: that this very circumstance brought matters to extremity between these princesses; and, rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path which either regard to self-preservation, or to the happiness of her people, should direct her to pursue; and that necessity, more powerful than policy, thus demanded of the queen that resolution which equity would authorize, and which duty prescribed [g].

---

[f] Digges, p. 276. Strype, vol. ii. p. 48. 135, 136. 139.

When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution; but even in this final resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previously dispersed that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the Duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with a strong army; that the Queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the queen, and set the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually assassinated [h]. An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubespine, the French ambassador; and that minister was obliged to leave the kingdom. The queen, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent; and sometimes to mutter to herself half-sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced [i]. She at last called Davison, a man of parts, but easy to be imposed on, and who had lately for that very reason been made secretary, and she ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made for the deliverance of that princess. She signed the warrant, and then commanded Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great seal appended to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear, some time, executing her former orders; and when Davison came and told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, being in a perplexity, acquainted the council with this whole transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send

---

[g] Camden, p. 533.

[h] Id. ibid.

[i] Ibid. p. 534.

1586. off Beale with the warrant: if the queen should be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure[k]. The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was despatched to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed upon the Queen of Scots.

1587. 7th Feb. The execution.

The two earls came to Fotheringay castle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed nowise terrified, though somewhat surprised with the intelligence. She said, with a cheerful and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England.—"But as such is her will," said she, "death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven, which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to those blissful mansions[l]." She then requested the two noblemen, that they would permit some of her servants, and particularly her confessor, to attend her; but they told her, that compliance with this last demand was contrary to their conscience[m], and that Dr. Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, a man of great learning, should be present to instruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the Earl of Kent; and he bluntly told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his conspiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrongs she resigned into the hands of the Almighty.

---

[k] It appears, by some letters published by Strype, vol. iii. book 2, c. 1, that Elizabeth had not expressly communicated her intention to any of her ministers, not even to Burleigh: they were such experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her more than by serving her without waiting till she desired them.

[l] Camden, p. 534. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 301. MS. in the Advocates' Library, p. 2, from the Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9.

[m] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302.

1587.

When the earls had left her, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure after it to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of herself[n]. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was, and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth? "They pretend," said she, "that I must die because I conspired against their queen's life; but the Earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other cause of my death than the apprehensions which, if I should live, they entertain for their religion. My constancy in the faith is my real crime; the rest is only a colour, invented by interested and designing men." Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them. They pledged her, in order, on their knees, and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty. She deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveness[o].

Mary's care of her servants was the sole remaining affair which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: she ordered the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: to some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompense to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin, the Duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she

---

[n] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

[o] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 302. 626. Camden, p. 534.

1587.

went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated hoste from the hands of Pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her[p].

Towards the morning, she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved for herself. She told her maids that she would willingly have left to them this dress rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

Thomas Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied that she was ready, and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed countenance. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who flung himself on his knees before her, and, wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, madam! unhappy me! what man was ever before the messenger of such heavy tidings as I must carry when I shall return to my native country, and shall report that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England!" His tears prevented farther speech; and Mary, too, felt herself moved more from sympathy than affliction. "Cease, my good servant," said she, "cease to lament; thou hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn; for now shalt thou see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long-expected period and completion. Know," continued she, "good servant, that all the world at best is vanity, and subject still to more sorrow than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But I pray thee carry this message from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the hart panteth after the water-brooks!" "O God," added she, "thou that art the Author of truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart; thou knowest that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the source of all these fatal discords. But recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that, notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland." After these words, reclining herself, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. "And so," said she, "good Melvil, farewell: once again farewell, good Melvil; and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress [q]."

---

[p] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having received a favourable answer, she preferred another request, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death; in order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execution, and how constantly she perseveres in her attachment to her religion. The Earl of Kent opposed this desire, and told her, that they would be apt by their speeches and cries to disturb both herself and the spectators: he was also apprehensive lest they should practise some superstition not meet for him to suffer, such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood; for that was the instance which he made use of. "My lord," said the Queen of Scots, "I will give my word (although it be but dead) that they shall not incur any blame in any of the actions which you have named; but alas! poor souls! it would be a great consolation to them to bid their mistress farewell. And I hope," added she, "that your mistress, being a maiden queen, would vouch-

---

[q] MS. p. 4. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 634. Strype, vol. iii. p. 384.

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

safe, in regard of womanhood, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death. I know that her majesty hath not given you any such strict command, but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy, even though I were a woman of inferior rank to that which I bear." Finding that the Earl of Kent persisted still in his refusal, her mind, which had fortified itself against the terrors of death, was affected by this indignity, for which she was not prepared. "I am cousin to your queen," cried she, "and descended from the blood-royal of Henry VII., and a married Queen of France, and an anointed Queen of Scotland." The commissioners, perceiving how invidious their obstinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed that she might carry a few of her servants along with her. She made choice of four men and two maid-servants for that purpose.

She then passed into another hall, where was erected the scaffold covered with black; and she saw, with an undismayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with spectators; and no one was so steeled against all sentiments of humanity, as not to be moved, when he reflected on her royal dignity, considered the surprising train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible constancy, recalled her amiable accomplishments, or surveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, still discovered themselves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent, but showed in her behaviour an indifference and unconcern, as if the business had nowise regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the Dean of Peterborough stepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himself about her, that she was settled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith; he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her conversion. The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and, besides their own absurdity, may be

1587.

regarded as the most mortifying indignities to which she had ever yet been exposed. He told her that the Queen of England had on this occasion shown a tender care of her; and, notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction with which it was so nearly threatened: that she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, than by repenting her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: that the Scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: that the hand of death was upon her, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, *Come, ye blessed of my Father;* or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, *Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire*[r].

During this discourse, Mary could not sometimes forbear betraying her impatience by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that she had profited nothing by his lecture, at last bade her change her opinion, repent her of her former wickedness, and settle her faith upon this ground, that only in Christ Jesus could she hope to be saved. She answered again and again, with great earnestness, "Trouble not yourself any more about the matter: for I was born in this religion; I have lived in this religion; and in this religion I am resolved to die." Even the two earls perceived that it was fruitless to harass her any farther with theological disputes; and they ordered the dean to desist from his

---

[r] MS. p. 8, 9, 10, 11. Strype, vol. iii. p. 385.

1587.

unseasonable exhortations, and to pray for her conversion. During the dean's prayer, she employed herself in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finished, she pronounced aloud some petitions in English, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her son, and for Queen Elizabeth; and prayed God that that princess might long prosper, and be employed in his service. The Earl of Kent, observing that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popish trumpery, as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand[s]. She replied, with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand without feeling her heart touched with some compunction[t].

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said, that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations: she turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them[u]; and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down without any sign of fear or trepidation; and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death: the Dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all Queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The Earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess.

Mary's character.

Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary, Queen of

---

[s] MS. p. 15. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 307. 491. 637.

[t] Jebb, ibid.

[u] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 307. 492.

1587.

Scots; a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her person, and graces of her air, combined to make her the most amiable of women; and the charms of her address and conversation aided the impression which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society; of a lofty spirit, constant and even vehement in her purpose, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanour; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces which compose the proper ornament of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of passion, and of the influence which situations, and sometimes momentary incidents, have on persons whose principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her husband, seduced by the treacherous counsels of one in whom she reposed confidence, transported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay sufficiently under the guidance of discretion, she was betrayed into actions which may with some difficulty be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct must in some parts wear the aspect of severe satire and invective.

Her numerous misfortunes, the solitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the persecutions to which she had been exposed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her later years; and such were the prevalent spirit and principles of the age, that it is the less wonder if her zeal, her resentment, and her interest uniting, induced her to give consent to a design which conspirators, actuated only by the first of these motives, had formed against the life of Elizabeth.

1587. The queen's affected sorrow.

When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, she affected the utmost surprise and indignation. Her countenance changed; her speech faltered and failed her; for a long time her sorrow was so deep that she could not express it, but stood fixed like a statue in silence and mute astonishment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burst out into loud wailings and lamentations; she put herself in deep mourning for this deplorable event; and she was seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her maids and women. None of her ministers or counsellors dared to approach her; or if any had such temerity, she chased them from her with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment: they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose[w], of which they were sufficiently apprized and acquainted.

No sooner was her sorrow so much abated as to leave room for reflection, than she wrote a letter of apology to the King of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Cary, son of Lord Hunsdon. She there told him, that she wished he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which she experienced on account of that lamentable accident which, without her knowledge, much less concurrence, had happened in England: that as her pen trembled when she attempted to write it, she found herself obliged to commit the relation of it to the messenger, her kinsman; who would likewise inform his majesty of every circumstance attending this dismal and unlooked-for misfortune: that she appealed to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was also so happy, amidst her own afflictions, as to find that many persons in her court could bear witness to her veracity in this protestation: that she abhorred dissimulation; deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a sincere and open conduct; and could never surely be esteemed so base and poor-spirited as that, if she had really given orders for this fatal execution, she could on any consideration be induced to deny them: that, though sensible of the justice of the sentence pronounced against the unhappy prisoner, she determined, from clemency, never to carry it into execution; and could not but resent the temerity of those, who, on this occasion, had disappointed her intention: and that as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare, she hoped that he would consider every one as his enemy, who endeavoured, on account of the present incident, to excite any animosity between them[x].

---

[w] Camden, p. 536. Strype, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 145. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 608.

In order the better to appease James, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the star-chamber for his misdemeanour. The secretary was confounded: and, being sensible of the danger which must attend his entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted very patiently to be railed at by those very counsellors whose persuasion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody, and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen was sending him small supplies from time to time to keep him from perishing in necessity[y]. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walsingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scotch ambassadors, he said, had been remonstrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure, she commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princess. She signed it readily, and ordered it to be sealed with the great seal of England. She appeared in such good humour on the occasion, that she said to him in a jocular manner, "Go, tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick, though I fear he will die of sorrow when he hears of it." She added, that though she had so long delayed the execution, lest she should seem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, she was all along sensible of the necessity of it. In the same conversation she blamed Drury and Paulet that they had not before eased her of this trouble;

---

[x] Camden, p. 536. Spotswood, p. 358.

[y] Camden, p. 538.

1587.

and she expressed her desire that Walsingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was so bent on this purpose, that, some time after, she asked Davison, whether any letter had come from Paulet, with regard to the service expected of him? Davison showed her Paulet's letter, in which that gentleman positively refused to act any thing inconsistent with the principles of honour and justice. The queen fell into a passion, and accused Paulet as well as Drury of perjury; because, having taken the oath of association, in which they had bound themselves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refused to lend their hand on this occasion. "But others," she said, "will be found less scrupulous." Davison adds, that nothing but the consent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to send off the warrant: he was well aware of his danger; and remembered that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon Lord Burleigh[z].

Elizabeth's dissimulation was so gross that it could deceive nobody who was not previously resolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certainly more sincere and cordial, he discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Cary into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England; and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland, being assembled, took part in his anger; and professed that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of the nobility instigated him to take arms: Lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king arrayed in complete armour, and said that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The Catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the King of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin which, from his mother's example, he might conclude, would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his person and his kingdom. The queen was sensible of the danger attending these counsels; and, after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to pacify him, and to set before him every motive of hope or fear which might induce him to live in amity with her.

---

[z] Camden, p. 538. Strype, vol. iii. p. 375, 376. MS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 3. 28. p. 17. From the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9. Biogr. Brit. p. 1625. 1627.

4th March.

Walsingham wrote to Lord Thirlstone, James's secretary, a judicious letter to the same purpose. He said, that he was much surprised to hear of the violent resolutions taken in Scotland, and of the passion discovered by a prince of so much judgment and temper as James: that a war, founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of justice which necessity had extorted, would for ever be exposed to censure, and could not be excused by any principles of equity or reason: that if these views were deemed less momentous among princes, policy and interest ought certainly to be attended to; and these motives did still more evidently oppose all thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth, and all revival of exploded claims to the English throne: that the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of success, if he trusted merely to the force of his own state, and had no recourse to foreign powers for assistance: that the objections attending the introduction of succours from a more potent monarch appeared so evident from all the transactions of history, that they could not escape a person of the king's extensive knowledge; but there were, in the present case, several peculiar circumstances, which ought for ever to deter him from having recourse to so dangerous an expedient: that the French monarch, the ancient ally of Scotland, might willingly use the assistance of that kingdom against England; but would be displeased to see the union of these two kingdoms in the person of James; a union which would ever after exclude him from practising that policy, formerly so useful to the French, and so pernicious to the Scottish nation: that Henry besides, infested with faction and domestic war, was not in a condition of supporting distant allies; much less would he expose himself to any hazard or expense, in order to aggrandize a near kinsman of the house of Guise, the most determined enemies of his repose and authority: that the extensive power and exorbitant ambition of the Spanish monarch rendered him a still more dangerous ally to Scotland; and as he evidently aspired to an universal monarchy in the west, and had in particular advanced some claims to England, as if he were descended from the house of Lancaster; he was at the same time the common enemy of all princes who wished to maintain their independence, and the immediate rival and competitor of the King of Scots: that the queen, by her own naval power and her alliance with the Hollanders, would probably intercept all succours which might be sent to James from abroad, and be enabled to decide the controversy in this island, with the superior forces of her own kingdom, opposed to those of Scotland: that if the king revived his mother's pretensions to the crown of England, he must also embrace her religion, by which alone they could be justified; and must thereby undergo the infamy of abandoning those principles in which he had been strictly educated, and to which he had hitherto religiously adhered: that as he would, by such an apostasy, totally alienate all the Protestants in Scotland and England, he could never gain the confidence of the Catholics, who would still entertain reasonable doubts of his sincerity: that by advancing a present claim to the crown, he forfeited the certain prospect of his succession, and revived that national animosity which the late peace and alliance between the kingdoms had happily extinguished: that the whole gentry and nobility of England had openly declared themselves for the execution of the Queen of Scots; and if James showed such violent resentment against that act of justice, they would be obliged, for their own security, to prevent for ever so implacable a prince from ruling over them: and that, however some persons might represent his honour as engaged to seek vengeance for the present affront and injury, the true honour of a prince consisted in wisdom and moderation and justice, not in following the dictates of blind passion, or in pursuing revenge at the expense of every motive and every interest[a]. These considerations, joined to the peaceable, unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his resentment; and he fell gradually into a good correspondence with the court of England. It is probable that the queen's chief object in her dissimulation with regard to the execution of Mary was, that she might thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his amity with her, on which their mutual interests so much depended.

---

[a] Strype, vol. iii. p. 377. Spotswood.

While Elizabeth ensured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not negligent of more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip, though he seemed to dissemble the daily insults and injuries which he received from the English, was secretly preparing a great navy to attack her, she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage his coast, and to destroy his shipping. Drake carried out four capital ships of the queen's, and twenty-six great and small, with which the London merchants, in hopes of sharing in the plunder, had supplied him. Having learned from two Dutch ships, which he met with in his passage, that a Spanish fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to set sail for Lisbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada, he bent his course to the former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortunately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged six galleys, which made head against him, to take shelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores; and he destroyed a great ship of the Marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he set sail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by assault the castle situated on that promontory, with three other fortresses. He next insulted Lisbon; and finding that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were discontented at these military enterprises, he set sail for the Terceras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich carrack which was expected in those parts. He was so fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this short expedition, in which the public bore so small a share, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt farther enterprises, the English seamen learned to despise the great unwieldy ships of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were destroyed, the intended expedition against England was retarded a twelvemonth, and the queen thereby had leisure to take more secure measures against that formidable invasion[b].

Drake destroys the fleet at Cadiz.

This year, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Devon-

---

[b] Camden, p. 540. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 156.

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

shire, who had dissipated a good estate by living at court, being resolved to repair his fortune at the expense of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and with these small vessels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden; and, returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and soldiers were clothed in silk, his sails were of damask, his top-sail cloth of gold; and his prizes were esteemed the richest that ever had been brought into England [c].

The land enterprises of the English were not, during this campaign, so advantageous or honourable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was entrusted by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman, being a Catholic, was alarmed at the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, and became apprehensive lest every one of his religion should thenceforth be treated with distrust in England. He entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a sum of money, and engaged the whole garrison to desert with him to the Spanish service. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly disgusted with Leicester, and suspicious of the English, broke out into loud complaints against the improvidence, if not the treachery, of his administration. Soon after, he himself arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was nowise calculated to give them satisfaction, or to remove the suspicions which they had entertained against him. The Prince of Parma having besieged Sluys, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea, then by land; but failed in both enterprises; and as he ascribed his bad success to the ill-behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: they slighted his authority, opposed his measures, and neglected his counsels; while he endeavoured, by an imperious behaviour and by violence, to

---

[c] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 57.

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

recover that influence which he had lost by his imprudent and ill-concerted measures. He was even suspected by the Dutch of a design to usurp upon their liberties; and the jealousy entertained against him began to extend towards the queen herself. That princess had made some advances towards a peace with Spain. A congress had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Graveline; and though the two courts, especially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuse each of them its enemy by negotiation, and mutually relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined on no terms to return under the Spanish yoke, became apprehensive lest their liberty should be sacrificed to the political interests of England [d]. But the queen, who knew the importance of her alliance with the states during the present conjuncture, was resolved to give them entire satisfaction by recalling Leicester, and commanding him to resign his government. Maurice, son of the late Prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the states governor in his place; and Peregrine Lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the English forces. The measures of these two generals were much embarrassed by the malignity of Leicester, who had left a faction behind him, and who still attempted, by means of his emissaries, to disturb all the operations of the states. As soon as Elizabeth received intelligence of these disorders, she took care to redress them; and she obliged all the partisans of England to fall into unanimity with Prince Maurice [e]. But though her good sense so far prevailed over her partiality to Leicester, she never could be made fully sensible of his vices and incapacity: the submissions which he made her restored him to her wonted favour; and Lord Buckhurst, who had accused him of misconduct in Holland, lost her confidence for some time, and was even committed to custody.

Sir Christopher Hatton was another favourite who at this time received some marks of her partiality. Though he had never followed the profession of the law, he was made chancellor in the place of Bromley, deceased; but,

---

[d] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4. Strype, vol. iv. No. 246.
[e] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 66.

1587.

notwithstanding all the expectations, and perhaps wishes, of the lawyers, he behaved in a manner not unworthy of that high station; his good natural capacity supplied the place of experience and study, and his decisions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his absence from court while he attended the business of chancery would gradually estrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

1588.

These little intrigues and cabals of the court were silenced by the account, which came from all quarters, of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the entire conquest of that kingdom.

Philip projects the invasion of England.

Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hostilities which Elizabeth everywhere committed upon him, had long harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge against her. His ambition, also, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the present prosperous state of his affairs; by the conquest of Portugal, the acquisition of the East Indian commerce and settlements, and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America. The point on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support orthodoxy, and exterminate heresy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the Protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue that princess, to acquire the eternal renown of reuniting the whole Christian world in the catholic communion. Above all, his indignation against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands instigated him to attack the English, who had encouraged that insurrection, and who, by their vicinity, were so well enabled to support the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce these rebels while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To subdue England seemed a necessary preparative to the re-establishment of his authority in the Netherlands; and notwithstanding appearances, the former was in itself, as a more important, so a more easy undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low Countries, and was more exposed to invasions from that quarter; after an

1588.

enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty seemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art nor nature; a long peace had deprived it of all military discipline and experience; and the Catholics, in which it still abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join any invader who should free them from those persecutions under which they laboured, and should revenge the death of the Queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England must be decided in one battle at sea, and another at land; and what comparison between the English and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery of their armies? Besides the acquisition of so great a kingdom, success against England ensured the immediate subjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all support, must yield their stubborn necks to that yoke which they had so long resisted. Happily this conquest, as it was of the utmost importance to the grandeur of Spain, would not at present be opposed by the jealousy of other powers, naturally so much interested to prevent the success of the enterprise. A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the empire was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France, the perpetual rival of Spain, was so torn with intestine commotions that she had no leisure to pay attention to her foreign interests. This favourable opportunity, therefore, which might never again present itself, must be seized, and one bold effort made for acquiring that ascendant in Europe to which the present greatness and prosperity of the Spaniards seemed so fully to entitle them[f].

These hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithstanding his cautious temper, to undertake this hazardous enterprise; and though the prince, now created, by the pope, Duke of Parma, when consulted, opposed the attempt, at least represented the necessity of previously getting possession of some seaport town in the Netherlands, which might afford a retreat to the Spanish navy[g], it was determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of this ambitious project. During some time he had been secretly making prepara-

---

[f] Camden. Strype, vol. iii. p. 512.

[g] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

tions; but as soon as the resolution was fully taken, every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and all his ministers, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the design. The Marquis of Santa Croce, a sea officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet; and by his counsels were the naval equipments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores were bought at a great expense; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment assembling to reinforce the Duke of Parma. Capizuchi and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy: the Marquis of Borgaut, a prince of the house of Austria, levied troops in Germany: the Walloon and Burgundian regiments were completed or augmented: the Spanish infantry was supplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-four thousand men was assembled in the Netherlands, and kept in readiness to be transported into England. The Duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he could procure either in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coasts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk and Newport, but especially at Antwerp, a great number of boats and flat-bottomed vessels, for the transporting of his infantry and cavalry. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprise. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Vespasian Gonzaga, Duke of Sabionetta, and the Duke of Pastrana, hastened to join the army under the Duke of Parma. About two thousand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enlisted in the service. No doubts were entertained but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of such consummate skill, must finally be successful. And the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada.*

The Invincible Armada.

1588.
Preparations in England.

News of these extraordinary preparations soon reached the court of London; and, notwithstanding the secrecy of the Spanish council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was easily concluded, that they meant to make some effort against England. The queen had foreseen the invasion, and finding that she must now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, she made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power, by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thousand men[h]. The size of the English shipping was in general so small, that, except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons[i]. The royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail[k], many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen, who, being accustomed to sail in tempestuous seas, and expose themselves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spanish mariners, as their vessels were inferior in size and force to those of that nation[l]. All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy; and they discovered on the present occasion great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion against those imminent perils with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in order to show their zeal in the common cause, instead of fifteen vessels which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number[m]. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ships at their own charge[n]; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity,

---

[h] Monson, p. 256.

[i] Ibid. p. 268.

[k] Ibid. p. 157.

[l] Ibid. p. 321.

[m] Ibid. p. 267.

[n] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 451.

1588.

was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was commanded by Lord Seymour, second son of Protector Somerset; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the Duke of Parma.

The land forces of England, compared to those of Spain, possessed contrary qualities to its naval power: they were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in discipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast, and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waste the country around, and to wait for reinforcement from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the Earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse, and was commanded by Lord Hunsdon. These forces were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear. The fate of England, if all the Spanish armies should be able to land, seemed to depend on the issue of a single battle; and men of reflection entertained the most dismal apprehensions when they considered the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the Duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power which England, not enervated by peace, but long disused to war, could muster against it.

The chief support of the kingdom seemed to consist in the vigour and prudence of the queen's conduct; who, undismayed by the present dangers, issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She sent Sir Robert Sidney into Scotland, and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to consider the danger which at present menaced his sovereignty no less than her own, from the ambition of the Spanish tyrant[o]. The ambassador found James well disposed to cultivate a union with England; and that prince even kept himself prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to the assistance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the King of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged this monarch, upon her application, to seize a squadron of ships, which Philip had bought or hired, in the Danish harbours[p]. The Hanse towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced by the same motives to retard so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of invading England. All the Protestants throughout Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reason of their distance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance with which she encountered that dreadful tempest which was every moment advancing towards her.

The queen also was sensible that, next to the general popularity which she enjoyed, and the confidence which her subjects reposed in her prudent government, the firmest support of her throne consisted in the general zeal of the people for the Protestant religion, and the strong prejudices which they had imbibed against popery. She took care, on the present occasion, to revive in the nation this attachment to their own sect, and this abhorrence of the opposite. The English were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain; all the barbarities exercised by Mary against the Protestants were ascribed to the counsels of that bigoted and imperious nation; the bloody massacres in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries, the horrid

---

[o] She made him some promises which she never fulfilled, to give him a dukedom in England with suitable lands and revenue, to settle 5,000*l.* a year on him, and pay him a guard, for the safety of his person. From a MS. of Lord Royston's.

[p] Strype, vol. iii. p. 524.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

cruelties and iniquities of the inquisition, were set before men's eyes; a list and description was published, and pictures dispersed, of the several instruments of torture with which it was pretended the Spanish Armada was loaded; and every artifice, as well as reason, was employed to animate the people to a vigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties.

But while the queen, in this critical emergence, roused the animosity of the nation against popery, she treated the partisans of that sect with moderation, and gave not way to an undistinguishing fury against them. Though she knew that Sixtus Quintus, the present pope, famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication against her, had deposed her, had absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had published a crusade against England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the present invasion, she would not believe that all her catholic subjects could be so blinded as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent counsels, by which she was urged to seek pretences for despatching the leaders of that party: she would not even confine any considerable number of them; and the Catholics, sensible of this good usage, generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army[q]; some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to Protestants: others were active in animating their tenants and vassals and neighbours to the defence of their country; and every rank of men, burying for the present all party distinctions, seemed to prepare themselves with order as well as vigour to resist the violence of these invaders.

The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion,

[q] Stowe, p. 747.

1588.

and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people[r]. By this spirited behaviour she revived the tenderness and admiration of the soldiery: an attachment to her person became a kind of enthusiasm among them; and they asked one another whether it were possible that Englishmen could abandon this glorious cause, could display less fortitude than appeared in the female sex, or could ever by any dangers be induced to relinquish the defence of their heroic princess.

The Spanish Armada was ready in the beginning of May; but, the moment it was preparing to sail, the Marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, was seized with a fever, of which he soon after died. The vice-admiral, the Duke of Paliano, by a strange concurrence of accidents, at the very same time suffered the same fate; and the king appointed for admiral the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but unexperienced in action, and entirely unacquainted with sea affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, besides the loss of so great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the sailing of the Armada, and gave the English more time for their preparations to oppose them. At last, the Spanish fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, set sail from Lisbon; but next day met with a violent tempest, which scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and forced the rest to take shelter in the Groine, where they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded that the design of an invasion was disappointed for this summer; and, being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for saving money, she made Walsingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up some of the larger ships, and to discharge the seamen. But Lord Effingham, who was not so sanguine in his hopes, used the freedom to disobey these orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ships in service, though it should be at his own expense[s]. He took advantage of a north wind, and sailed towards the coast of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their har-

29th May.

---

[r] See note [K], at the end of the volume.

[s] Camden, p. 545.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

bours; but the wind changing to the south, he became apprehensive lest they might have set sail, and, by passing him at sea, invade England, now exposed by the absence of the fleet. He returned, therefore, with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour.

Meanwhile, all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea in prosecution of their enterprise. The fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months; and was attended by twenty lesser ships called caravals, and ten salves with six oars apiece[t].

The plan formed by the King of Spain was, that the Armada should sail to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Newport; and having chased away all English or Flemish vessels which might obstruct the passage, (for it never was supposed they could make opposition,) should join themselves with the Duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. In prosecution of this scheme, Philip gave orders to the Duke of Medina, that, in passing along the channel, he should sail as near the coast of France as he could with safety; that he should by this policy avoid meeting with the English fleet; and, keeping in view the main enterprise, should neglect all smaller successes, which might prove an obstacle, or even interpose a delay to the acquisition of a kingdom[u]. After the Armada was under sail, they took a fisherman, who informed them that the English admiral had been lately at sea, had heard of the tempest which scattered the Armada, had retired back into Plymouth, and, no longer expecting an invasion this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged most of the seamen. From this false

[t] Strype, vol. iii. Appendix. p. 221.

[u] Monson, p. 157.

intelligence the Duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and destroying the English ships in harbour; and he was tempted by the prospect of so decisive an advantage to break his orders, and make sail directly for Plymouth; a resolution which proved the safety of England. The Lizard was the first land made by the Armada, about sunset; and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head, near Plymouth, they bore out to sea with an intention of returning next day and attacking the English navy. They were descried by Fleming, a Scottish pirate, who was roving in those seas, and who immediately set sail to inform the English admiral of their approach [w]; another fortunate event, which contributed extremely to the safety of the fleet. Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other.

19th July. The Armada arrives in the Channel.

The writers of that age raise their style by a pompous description of this spectacle; the most magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly painted but by assuming the colours of poetry; and an eloquent historian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has asserted that the Armada, though the ships bore every sail, yet advanced with a slow motion; as if the ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling so enormous a weight [x]. The truth however is, that the largest of the Spanish vessels would scarcely pass for third-rates in the present navy of England; yet were they so ill-framed, or so ill-governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not sail upon a wind, nor tack on occasion, nor be managed in stormy weather by the seamen. Neither the mechanics of shipbuilding nor the experience of mariners had attained so great perfection as could serve for the security and government of such bulky vessels; and the English, who had already

---

[w] Monson, p. 158.

[x] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

1588.

had experience how unserviceable they commonly were, beheld without dismay their tremendous appearance.

Effingham gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, where the size of the ships, he suspected, and the numbers of the soldiers, would be a disadvantage to the English; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents, must afford him of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered expectation. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada. The great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast; and both these vessels were taken, after some resistance, by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it with skirmishes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the English; and the latter soon found, that even in close fight the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English. The alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Charles Blount, with many others, distinguished themselves by this generous and disinterested service of their country. The English fleet, after the conjunction of those ships, amounted to a hundred and forty sail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place, in expectation that the Duke of Parma, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to sea, and join his forces to them. The English admiral practised here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with combustible materials, sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that

1588.

they were fireships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done so much execution in the Schelde, near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

By this time it was become apparent, that the intention for which these preparations were made by the Spaniards was entirely frustrated. The vessels provided by the Duke of Parma were made for transporting soldiers, not for fighting; and that general, when urged to leave the harbour, positively refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent hazard; while the English not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spanish admiral found, in many rencounters, that while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw, that, by continuing so unequal a combat, he must draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder. He prepared therefore to return homewards; but as the wind was contrary to his passage through the channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and, making the tour of the island, reached the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the officers in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The Duke of Medina had once taken that resolution, but was diverted from it by the advice of his confessor. This conclusion of the enterprise would have been more glorious to the English; but the event proved almost equally fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempest over- Defeated. took the Armada after it passed the Orkneys: the ships had already lost their anchors, and were obliged to keep to sea: the mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not able to govern such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen as

1588.

well as soldiers who remained were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them.

Such was the miserable and dishonourable conclusion of an enterprise which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a slave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no sooner heard of the mortifying event which blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for the gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests, who had so often blessed this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory gained over the catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable usurper: but they at last discovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them[y].

1589. 4th Feb. A Parliament.

Soon after the defeat and dispersion of the Spanish Armada, the queen summoned a new Parliament; and received from them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the first instance that subsidies were doubled in one supply; and so unusual a concession was probably obtained from the joy of the present success, and from the general sense of the queen's necessities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burden of loans which had lately been imposed upon the nation[z].

Elizabeth foresaw, that this House of Commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the puritans; and therefore, to obviate their enterprises, she renewed at the beginning of the session her usual injunction, that the Parliament should not on any account presume to treat of matters ecclesiastical. Notwithstanding this strict inhibition, the zeal of one Damport moved him to present a bill to the Commons for remedying spiritual grievances,

---

[y] See note [L], at the end of the volume.
[z] See note [M], at the end of the volume.

1589.

and for restraining the tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission, which were certainly great: but when Mr. Secretary Woley reminded the House of her majesty's commands, no one durst second the motion; the bill was not so much as read; and the Speaker returned it to Damport without taking the least notice of it[a]. Some members of the House, notwithstanding the general submission, were even committed to custody on account of this attempt[b].

The imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared still more clearly in another parliamentary transaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleasure take provisions for the household from all the neighbouring counties, and could make use of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of these commodities and services was fixed and stated. The payment of the money was often distant and uncertain; and the rates, being fixed before the discovery of the West Indies, were much inferior to the present market price; so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a great burden, and, being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. We may fairly presume, that the hungry courtiers of Elizabeth, supported by her unlimited power, would be sure to render this prerogative very oppressive to the people; and the Commons had, last session, found it necessary to pass a bill for regulating these exactions: but the bill was lost in the House of Peers[c]. The continuance of the abuses begat a new attempt for redress; and the same bill was now revived, and again sent up to the House of Peers, together with a bill for some new regulations in the court of exchequer. Soon after, the Commons received a message from the Upper House, desiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference, the Peers informed them, that the queen, by a message delivered by Lord Burleigh, had expressed her displeasure, that the Commons should presume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuses, she said, either in imposing purveyance, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majesty was both able

[a] D'Ewes, p. 438.
[b] Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 280. Neal, vol. i. p. 500.
[c] D'Ewes, p. 434.

1589.

and willing to provide due reformation; but would not permit the Parliament to intermeddle in these matters[d]. The Commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed another committee to attend the queen, and endeavoured to satisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee: she expressed her great *inestimable loving care* towards her loving subjects; which, she said, was greater than of her own self, or even than any of them could have of themselves. She told them, that she had already given orders for an inquiry into the abuses attending purveyance, but the dangers of the Spanish invasion had retarded the progress of the design; that she had as much skill, will, and power to rule her household as any subjects whatsoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the assistance of her neighbours; that the exchequer was her chamber, consequently more near to her than even her household, and therefore the less proper for them to intermeddle with; and that she would of herself, with advice of her council and the judges, redress every grievance in these matters, but would not permit the Commons, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honour attending these regulations[e]. The issue of this matter was the same that attended all contests between Elizabeth and her Parliaments[f]. She seems even to have been more imperious in this particular than her predecessors, at least her more remote ones; for they often permitted the abuses of purveyance[g] to be redressed by law[h]. Edward III., a very arbitrary prince, allowed ten several statutes to be enacted for that purpose.

In so great awe did the Commons stand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durst use no freedom of speech which they thought would give the least offence to any of them. Sir Edward Hobby showed in the House his extreme grief, that by some great personage, not a member of the House, he had been sharply rebuked for speeches delivered in Parliament: he craved the favour of the House, and desired that some of the members might inform that great personage of his true meaning and intention in these speeches[j]. The Commons, to obviate these inconveniences, passed a vote that no one should reveal the secrets of the House[k].

---

[d] D'Ewes, p. 440.

[e] Ibid. p. 444.

[f] *Si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.* Juv.

[g] See note [N], at the end of the volume.

[h] See the Statutes under the head of Purveyance.

Expedition against Portugal.

The discomfiture of the Armada had begotten in the nation a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprises against Spain; and nothing seemed now impossible to be achieved by the valour and fortune of the English. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural son of the royal family of Portugal, trusting to the aversion of his countrymen against the Castilians, had advanced a claim to the crown; and flying first to France, thence to England, had been encouraged both by Henry and Elizabeth in his pretensions. A design was formed by the people, not the court of England, to conquer the kingdom for Don Antonio: Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterprise: near twenty thousand volunteers[l] enlisted themselves in the service; and ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than sixty thousand pounds to the expense; and she only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition[m]. There was more spirit and bravery, than foresight or prudence, in the conduct of this enterprise. The small stock of the adventurers did not enable them to buy either provisions or ammunition sufficient for such an undertaking: they even wanted vessels to stow the numerous volunteers who crowded to them: and they were obliged to seize by force some ships of the Hanse towns, which they met with at sea; an expedient which set them somewhat more at ease in point of room for their men, but remedied not the deficiency of their provisions[n]. Had they sailed directly to Portugal, it is believed that the good-will of the people, joined to the defenceless state of the country, might have ensured them of success:

---

[j] D'Ewes, p. 432, 433.

[k] An act was passed this session, enforcing the former statute, which imposed twenty pounds a month on every one absent from public worship: but the penalty was restricted to two-thirds of the income of the recusant. 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

[l] Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 61. Monson, p. 267, says, that there were only fourteen thousand soldiers and four thousand seamen in the whole of this expedition: but the account contained in Dr. Birch is given by one of the most considerable of the adventurers.

[m] Monson, p. 267.

[n] Ibid. p. 159.

1589.

but hearing that great preparations were making at the Groine for the invasion of England, they were induced to go thither, and destroy this new armament of Spain. They broke into the harbour, burned some ships of war, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain; they defeated an army of four or five thousand men, which was assembled to oppose them; they assaulted the Groine, and took the lower town, which they pillaged; and they would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had they not found their ammunition and provisions beginning to fail them. The young Earl of Essex, a nobleman of promising hopes, who, fired with the thirst of military honour, had secretly, unknown to the queen, stolen from England, here joined the adventurers; and it was then agreed by common consent to make sail for Portugal, the main object of their enterprise.

The English landed at Paniche, a sea-port town, twelve leagues from Lisbon; and Norris led the army to that capital, while Drake undertook to sail up the river and attack the city with united forces. By this time the court of Spain had gotten leisure to prepare against the invasion. Forces were thrown into Lisbon: the Portuguese were disarmed: all suspected persons were taken into custody: and thus, though the inhabitants bore great affection to Don Antonio, none of them durst declare in favour of the invaders. The English army, however, made themselves masters of the suburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds; but as they desired to conciliate the affections of the Portuguese, and were more intent on honour than profit, they observed a strict discipline, and abstained from all plunder. Meanwhile they found their ammunition and provisions much exhausted; they had not a single cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not been able to pass some fortresses which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an insurrection in their favour; sickness, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits had seized the army; so that it was found necessary to make all possible haste to re-embark. They were not pursued by the enemy; and, finding at the mouth of the river sixty ships laden with naval stores, they seized them as

1589.

lawful prize, though they belonged to the Hanse towns, a neutral power. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and, having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. Above half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword [o]; and England reaped more honour than profit from this extraordinary enterprise. It is computed that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty survived those multiplied disasters [p].

When these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the Earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all equipped at his own charge, except one ship of war which the queen had lent him. That nobleman supplied Sir Francis Drake with some provisions; a generosity which saved the lives of many of Drake's men, but for which the others afterwards suffered severely. Cumberland sailed towards the Terceras, and took several prizes from the enemy; but the richest, valued at a hundred thousand pounds, perished in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall. Many of these adventurers were killed in a rash attempt at the Terceras; a great mortality seized the rest; and it was with difficulty that the few hands which remained were able to steer the ships back into harbour [q].

Affairs of Scotland.

Though the signal advantages gained over the Spaniards, and the spirit thence infused into the English, gave Elizabeth great security during the rest of her reign, she could not forbear keeping an anxious eye on Scotland, whose situation rendered its revolutions always of importance to her. It might have been expected, that this high-spirited princess, who knew so well to brave danger, would not have retained that malignant jealousy towards her heir, with which, during the life-time of Mary, she had been so much agitated. James had indeed succeeded to all the claims of his mother; but he had not succeeded to the favour of the Catholics, which could alone render these claims dangerous [r]. And as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an uncon-

---

[o] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 61.

[p] Ibid. vol. i. p. 61.

[q] Monson, p. 161.

[r] Winwood, vol. i. p. 41.

CHAP. XLII. 1589.

trolled authority over her subjects, it was not likely that the King of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would ever give her any disturbance in her possession of the throne. Yet all these circumstances could not remove her timorous suspicions; and so far from satisfying the nation by a settlement of the succession, or a declaration of James's title, she was as anxious to prevent every incident which might anywise raise his credit, or procure him the regard of the English, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Most of his ministers and favourites were her pensioners; and as she was desirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, she obliged them to throw obstacles in the way of every alliance, even the most reasonable, which could be offered him; and during some years she succeeded in this malignant policy[s]. He had fixed on the elder daughter of the King of Denmark, who, being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did she so artfully cross this negotiation, that the Danish monarch, impatient of delay, married his daughter to the Duke of Brunswick. James then renewed his suit to the younger princess; and still found obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interposing delay, proposed to him the sister of the King of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of fortune. The young king, besides the desire of securing himself, by the prospect of issue, from those traitorous attempts too frequent among his subjects, had been so watched by the rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not so usual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all the politics of Elizabeth: the articles of marriage were settled: the ceremony was performed by proxy, and the princess embarked for Scotland, but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway. This tempest, and some others which happened near the same time, were universally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches; and the dying confession of the criminals was supposed to put the accusation beyond all controversy[t]. James, however, though a great believer in

[s] Melvil, p. 166. 177.

[t] Ibid. p. 180.

1589.

sorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: he arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and, having passed the winter in that city, he brought her next spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made opposition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which they alleged was either a Jewish or a popish rite, and therefore utterly antichristian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony as they were averse to it; and after much controversy and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at last prevailed over their opposition[u].

---

[u] Spotswood, p. 381.

CHAPTER XLIII.

French Affairs.—Murder of the Duke of Guise.—Murder of Henry III.—Progress of Henry IV.—Naval Enterprises against Spain.—A Parliament.—Henry IV. embraces the Catholic Religion.—Scotch Affairs.—Naval Enterprises.—A Parliament.—Peace of Vervins.—The Earl of Essex.

XLIII. 1590.

After a state of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had at length reached a situation where, though her affairs still required attention, and found employment for her active spirit, she was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with some degree of confidence and security. Her successful and prudent administration had gained her, together with the admiration of foreigners, the affections of her own subjects; and, after the death of the Queen of Scots, even the Catholics, however discontented, pretended not to dispute her title, or adhere to any other person as her competitor. James, curbed by his factious nobility and ecclesiastics, possessed at home very little authority; and was solicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the English nation, in hopes that time, aided by his patient tranquillity, would secure him that rich succession to which his birth entitled him. The Hollanders, though overmatched in their contest with Spain, still made an obstinate resistance; and such was their unconquerable antipathy to their old masters, and such the prudent conduct of young Maurice, their governor, that the subduing of that small territory, if at all possible, must be the work of years, and the result of many and great successes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort against England, had been transported by resentment and ambition beyond his usual cautious maxims, was now disabled, and still more discouraged, from adventuring again on such hazardous enterprises. The situation also of affairs in France began chiefly to employ his attention; but notwithstanding all his artifice, and force, and expense, the events in that kingdom proved every day more contrary to his expectations, and more favourable to the friends and confederates of England.

1590. French affairs.

The violence of the league having constrained Henry to declare war against the Hugonots, these religionists seemed exposed to the utmost danger; and Elizabeth, sensible of the intimate connexion between her own interests and those of that party, had supported the King of Navarre by her negotiations in Germany, and by large sums of money, which she remitted for levying forces in that country. This great prince, not discouraged by the superiority of his enemies, took the field; and in the year 1587 gained, at Coutras, a complete victory over the army of the French King; but as his allies, the Germans, were at the same time discomfited by the army of the league, under the Duke of Guise, his situation, notwithstanding his victory, seemed still as desperate as ever. The chief advantage which he reaped by this diversity of success arose from the dissensions which by that means took place among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with admiration of Guise, and strongly prejudiced against their king, whose intentions had become suspicious to them, took to arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his safety. That prince, dissembling his resentment, entered into a negotiation with the league, and having conferred many high offices on Guise and his partisans, summoned an assembly of the states at Blois, on pretence of finding expedients to support the intended war against the Hugonots. The various scenes of perfidy and cruelty which had been exhibited in France had justly begotten a mutual diffidence among all parties; yet Guise, trusting more to the timidity than honour of the king, rashly put himself into the hands of that monarch, and expected, by the ascendant of his own genius, to make him submit to all his exorbitant pretensions.

Murder of the Duke of Guise.

Henry, though of an easy disposition, not steady to his resolutions, nor even to his promises, wanted neither courage nor capacity; and finding all his subtleties eluded by the vigour of Guise, and even his throne exposed to the most imminent danger, he embraced more violent counsels than were natural to him, and ordered that

1590.

prince and his brother, the Cardinal of Guise, to be assassinated in his palace.

This cruel execution, which the necessity of it alone could excuse, had nearly proved fatal to the author, and seemed at first to plunge him into greater dangers than those which he sought to avoid by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partisans of the league were inflamed with the utmost rage against him: the populace every where, particularly at Paris, renounced allegiance to him: the ecclesiastics and the preachers filled all places with execrations against his name; and the most powerful cities and most opulent provinces appeared to combine in a resolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding slender resources among his catholic subjects, was constrained to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the King of Navarre: he enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry; and, being still supported by his chief nobility, he assembled, by all these means, an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, ready to crush the league, and subdue all his enemies. The desperate resolution of one man diverted the course of these great events. Jacques Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguishes this century, and a great part of the following, beyond all ages of the world, embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life in order to save the church from the persecutions of an heretical tyrant; and, being admitted under some pretext to the king's presence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who hastily revenged the murder of their sovereign. This memorable incident happened on the first of August, 1589.

Murder of Henry the Third.

The King of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government by the title of Henry IV., but succeeded to much greater difficulties than those which surrounded his predecessor. The prejudices entertained against his religion made a great part of the nobility immediately desert him; and it was only by his promise of hearkening to conferences and instruction, that he

1590.

could engage any of the Catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the Duke of Mayence, brother to Guise, gathered new force, and the King of Spain entertained views, either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful circumstances, Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, and found her well disposed to contribute to his assistance, and to oppose the progress of the catholic league and of Philip, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries, she made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds, a greater sum than, as he declared, he had ever seen before; and she sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men under Lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined the French at Dieppe. Strengthened by these supplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and, having taken the suburbs sword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his soldiers. He employed this body of English in many other enterprises, and still found reason to praise their courage and fidelity. The time of their service being elapsed, he dismissed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Baskerville, and Sir John Boroughs, acquired reputation in this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of English valour.

Progress of Henry the IVth.

The army which Henry, next campaign, led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but as it was composed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvrée, and he gained a complete victory over them. This success enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the last extremity of famine; when the Duke of Parma, in consequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Having performed this important service, he retreated to the Low Countries; and, by his consummate skill in the art of war, performed these long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he sought, of giving him battle, or so much as once putting his army in disorder. The only loss which

1590. he sustained was in the Low Countries; where Prince Maurice took advantage of his absence, and recovered some places which the Duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the states[a].

1591. The situation of Henry's affairs, though promising, was not so well advanced or established as to make the queen discontinue her succours; and she was still more confirmed in the resolution of supporting him by some advantages gained by the King of Spain. The Duke of Mercœur, governor of Britany, a prince of the house of Lorraine, had declared for the league; and finding himself hard pressed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to secure himself, to introduce some Spanish troops into the seaport towns of that province. Elizabeth was alarmed at the danger; and foresaw that the Spaniards, besides infesting the English commerce by privateers, might employ these harbours as the seat of their naval preparations, and might more easily from that vicinity, than from Spain or Portugal, project an invasion of England. She concluded therefore a new treaty with Henry, in which she engaged to send over three thousand men, to be employed in the reduction of Britany; and she stipulated that her charges should, in a twelvemonth, or as soon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her[b]. These forces were commanded by Sir John Norris, and under him by his brother Henry, and by Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a small body which garrisoned Dieppe; and a squadron of ships, under the command of Sir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coast of France, and intercepted all the vessels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers.

The operations of war can very little be regulated beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it necessary to lay aside the projected enterprise against Britany, persuaded the English commanders to join his army, and to take a share in the hostilities which he carried into Picardy[c]. Notwithstanding the disgust which Elizabeth received from this disappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and persuaded her to send over a new body

[a] See note [O], at the end of the volume.

[b] Camden, p. 561.

[c] Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 116.

1591.

of four thousand men to assist him in that enterprise. The Earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and still more, real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. Essex, impatient for military fame, was extremely uneasy to lie some time at Dieppe unemployed; and had not the orders which he received from his mistress been so positive, he would gladly have accepted of Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army now in Champagne. This plan of operations was also proposed to Elizabeth by the French ambassador, but she rejected it with great displeasure; and she threatened immediately to recall her troops, if Henry should persevere any longer in his present practice of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own interests[d]. Urged by these motives, the French king at last led his army into Normandy, and laid siege to Roüen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themselves to take the field against him, had again recourse to the Duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprise with his usual abilities and success, and for the present frustrated all the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This princess, who kept still in view the interests of her own kingdom in all her foreign transactions, was impatient under these disappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained that the English forces were thrust foremost in every hazardous enterprise[e]. It is probable, however, that their own ardent courage, and their desire of distinguishing themselves in so celebrated a theatre of war, were the causes why they so often enjoyed this perilous honour.

Notwithstanding the indifferent success of former enterprises, the queen was sensible how necessary it was to support Henry against the league and the Spaniards; and she formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip but by common

---

[d] Birch's Negotiations, p. 5. Rymer, tom, xiv. p. 123. 140.

[e] Camden, p. 562.

1591.

consent; *she* promised to send him a new supply of four thousand men; and *he* stipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ these forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition against Britany, and to consign into her hands a seaport town of that province, for a retreat to the English[f]. Henry knew the impossibility of executing some of these articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but finding them rigidly insisted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her succours, and trusted that he might easily, on some pretence, be able to excuse his failure in executing his part of the treaty. This campaign was the least successful of all those which he had yet carried on against the league.

Naval enterprises against Spain.

During these military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his West-Indian treasures, the source of that greatness which rendered him so formidable to all his neighbours. She sent a squadron of seven ships, under the command of Lord Thomas Howard, for this service; but the King of Spain, informed of her purpose, fitted out a great force of fifty-five sail, and despatched them to escort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the English squadron; and by the courageous obstinacy of Sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who refused to make his escape by flight, they took one vessel, the first English ship of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards[g]. The rest of the squadron returned safely into England, frustrated of their expectations, but pleasing themselves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitless in hurting the enemy. The Indian fleet had been so long detained in the Havanna from the fear of the English, that they were obliged at last to set sail in an improper season, and most of them perished by shipwreck ere they reached the Spanish harbours[h]. The Earl of Cumberland made a like unsuccessful enterprise against the Spanish trade. He carried out one ship of the queen's, and seven others equipped at his own expense; but the prizes which he made did not compensate the charges[i].

---

[f] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 151. 168. 171. 173.

[g] See note [P], at the end of the volume.

[h] Monson, p. 163.

[i] Ibid. p. 169.

The spirit of these expensive and hazardous adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with the queen, 1591. finding his interest to decline, determined to recover her good graces by some important undertaking; and as his reputation was high among his countrymen, he persuaded great numbers to engage with him as volunteers in an attempt on the West Indies. The fleet was detained so long in the channel by contrary winds, that the season was lost: Raleigh was recalled by the queen: Sir Martin Frobisher succeeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage against the Spaniards. He took one rich carrack near the island of Flores, and destroyed 1592. another[k]. About the same time, Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spanish ships, which, besides fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, contained about two millions of bulls for indulgences; a commodity useless to the English, but which had cost the King of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions.

This war did great damage to Spain; but it was attended with considerable expense to England; and Elizabeth's ministers computed that, since the commencement of it, she had spent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thousand pounds[l]; a charge which, notwithstanding her extreme frugality, was too burdensome for her narrow revenues to support. She summoned there- 1593. fore a Parliament, in order to obtain a supply: but she 19th Feb. A Parliament. either thought her authority so established that she needed to make them no concessions in return, or she rated her power and prerogative above money; for there never was any Parliament whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness, or whose privileges she more openly violated. When the speaker, Sir Edward Coke, made the three usual requests, of freedom from arrests, of access to her person, and of liberty of speech, she replied to him, by the mouth of Puckering, lord keeper, that liberty of speech was granted to the Commons, but they must know what liberty they were entitled to;

---

[k] Monson, p. 165. Camden, p. 569.

[l] Strype, vol. iii.

1593.

not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of Ay or No: that she enjoined the speaker, if he perceived any idle heads so negligent of their own safety as to attempt reforming the church or innovating in the commonwealth, that he should refuse the bills exhibited for that purpose, till they were examined by such as were fitted to consider of these things, and could better judge of them: that she would not impeach the freedom of their persons; but they must beware, lest, under colour of this privilege, they imagined that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected: and that she would not refuse them access to her person, provided it were upon urgent and weighty causes, and at times convenient, and when she might have leisure from other important affairs of the realm[m].

Notwithstanding the menacing and contemptuous air of this speech, the intrepid and indefatigable Peter Wentworth, not discouraged by his former ill success, ventured to transgress the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He presented to the lord keeper a petition, in which he desired the Upper House to join with the lower in a supplication to her majesty for entailing the succession of the crown; and he declared that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpose. This method of proceeding was sufficiently respectful and cautious; but the subject was always extremely disagreeable to the queen, and what she had expressly prohibited any one from meddling with. She sent Wentworth immediately to the Tower, committed Sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the Fleet prison, together with Stevens and Welsh, two members, to whom Sir Thomas had communicated his intention[n]. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the House to petition the queen for the release of these members; but it was answered by all the privy-counsellors there present, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and that to press her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to serve:

---

[m] D'Ewes, p. 460. 469. Townsend, p. 37.

[n] D'Ewes, p. 470. Townsend, p. 54.

1593.

she would release them whenever she thought proper, and would be better pleased to do it of her own proper motion, than from their suggestion[o]. The House willingly acquiesced in this reasoning.

So arbitrary an act, at the commencement of the session, might well repress all farther attempts for freedom. But the religious zeal of the puritans was not so easily restrained, and it inspired a courage which no human motive was able to surmount. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but, above all, in the high commission; where subscriptions, he said, were exacted to articles at the pleasure of the prelates; where oaths were imposed, obliging persons to answer to all questions without distinction, even though they should tend to their own condemnation; and where every one who refused entire satisfaction to the commissioners was imprisoned, without relief or remedy[p]. This motion was seconded by some members; but the ministers and privy-counsellors opposed it, and foretold the consequences which ensued. The queen sent for the speaker, and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, she told him that it was in her power to call Parliaments; in her power to dissolve them; in her power to give assent or dissent to any determination which they should form: that her purpose in summoning this Parliament was twofold; to have laws enacted for the further enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation against the exorbitant power of Spain: that these two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: she had enjoined them already, by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of state nor of religion; and she wondered how any one could be so assuming as to attempt a subject so expressly contrary to her prohibition: that she was highly offended with this presumption; and took the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill regarding either state affairs or reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited in the House; and that, in particular, she charged the

---

[o] D'Ewes, p. 497.

[p] Ibid. p. 474. Townsend, p. 60.

1593.

speaker, upon his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members[q]. This command from the queen was submitted to without farther question. Morrice was seized in the House itself by a serjeant at arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury castle[r].

The queen having thus expressly pointed out both what the House should and should not do, the Commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They passed a law against recusants; such a law as was suited to the severe character of Elizabeth, and to the persecuting spirit of the age. It was entitled, *An Act to retain her Majesty's subjects in their due obedience;* and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate such inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons: for these two species of criminals were always, at that time, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of society. It was enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that if, after being condemned for this offence, he persist three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that, if he either refuse this condition, or return after banishment, he should suffer capitally as a felon, without benefit of clergy[s]. This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the Catholics; and, had it not been imposed by the queen's authority, was certainly, in that respect, much contrary to the private sentiments and inclinations of the majority in the House of Commons. Very little opposition, however, appears there to have been openly made to it[t].

The expenses of the war with Spain having reduced

---

[q] D'Ewes, p. 474. 478. Townsend, p. 68.

[r] Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 320.

[s] 35 Eliz. c. 1.

[t] After enacting this statute, the clergy, in order to remove the odium from themselves, often took care that recusants should be tried by the civil judges at the assizes, rather than by the ecclesiastical commissioners. Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 264.

1593.

the queen to great difficulties, the grant of subsidies seems to have been the most important business of this Parliament: and it was a signal proof of the high spirit of Elizabeth, that, while conscious of a present dependence on the Commons, she opened the session with the most haughty treatment of them, and covered her weakness under such a lofty appearance of superiority. The Commons readily voted two subsidies and four fifteenths; but this sum not appearing sufficient to the court, an unusual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their concessions. The Peers informed the Commons in a conference, that they could not give their consent to the supply voted, thinking it too small for the queen's occasions: they therefore proposed a grant of three subsidies and six fifteenths; and desired a farther conference, in order to persuade the Commons to agree to this measure. The Commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of subsidy, took offence at this procedure of the Lords, and at first absolutely rejected the proposal; but being afraid, on reflection, that they had by this refusal given offence to their superiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional subsidy [u].

The queen, notwithstanding this unusual concession of the Commons, ended the session with a speech containing some reprimands to them, and full of the same high pretensions which she had assumed at the opening of the Parliament. She took notice, by the mouth of the keeper, that certain members spent more time than was necessary, by indulging themselves in harangues and reasonings: and she expressed her displeasure on account of their not paying due reverence to privy-counsellors, "who," she told them, "were not to be accounted as common knights and burgesses of the House, who are counsellors but during the Parliament; whereas the others are standing counsellors, and for their wisdom and great service are called to the council of the state [w]." The queen, also, in her own person, made the Parliament a spirited harangue, in which she spoke of the justice and moderation of her government,

---

[u] D'Ewes, p. 483. 487, 488. Townsend, p. 66.

[w] D'Ewes, p. 466. Townsend, p. 47.

1593.

expressed the small ambition she had ever entertained of making conquests, displayed the just grounds of her quarrel with the King of Spain, and discovered how little she apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort against her than that of his Invincible Armada. "But I am informed," added she, "that when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance: but I swear unto you by God, if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be fearful in so urgent a cause[x]." By this menace, she probably gave the people to understand, that she would execute martial law upon such cowards; for there was no statute by which a man could be punished for changing his place of abode.

The King of France, though he had hitherto made war on the league with great bravery and reputation, though he had this campaign gained considerable advantages over them, and though he was assisted by a considerable body of English, under Norris, who carried hostilities into the heart of Britany, was become sensible that he never could by force of arms alone render himself master of his kingdom. The nearer he seemed by his military successes to approach to a full possession of the throne, the more discontent and jealousy arose among those Romanists who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect some Catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry should any longer refuse to satisfy them by declaring his conversion. This excellent prince was far from being a bigot to his sect; and as he deemed these theological disputes entirely subordinate to the public good, he had secretly determined, from the beginning, to come some time or other to the resolution required of him. He had found, on the death of his predecessor, that the Hugonots, who formed the bravest and most faithful part of his army, were such determined zealots, that if he had at that time abjured their faith, they would instantly have abandoned him to the pretensions and usurpations of the Catholics. The more bigoted Catholics, he knew, particularly those of the league, had entertained such an insurmountable prejudice against his person, and diffidence of his sincerity, that even his abjuration would not reconcile them to his title; and he must either expect to be entirely excluded from the throne, or be admitted to it on such terms as would leave him little more than the mere shadow of royalty. In this delicate situation he had resolved to temporize; to retain the Hugonots by continuing in the profession of their religion; to gain the moderate Catholics by giving them hopes of his conversion; to attach both to his person by conduct and success: and he hoped either that the animosity arising from war against the league would make them drop gradually the question of religion, or that he might in time, after some victories over his enemies, and some conferences with divines, make finally, with more decency and dignity, that abjuration which must have appeared at first mean as well as suspicious to both parties.

---

[x] D'Ewes, p. 466. Townsend, p. 48.

Hen. IV. embraces the Catholic religion.

When the people are attached to any theological tenets, merely from a general persuasion or prepossession, they are easily induced, by any motive or authority, to change their faith in these mysterious subjects; as appears from the example of the English, who, during some reigns, usually embraced without scruple the still varying religion of their sovereigns. But the French nation, where principles had so long been displayed as the badges of faction, and where each party had fortified its belief by an animosity against the other, were not found so pliable or inconstant; and Henry was at last convinced, that the Catholics of his party would entirely abandon him, if he gave them not immediate satisfaction in this particular. The Hugonots also, taught by experience, clearly saw that his desertion of them was become absolutely necessary for the public settlement; and so general was this persuasion among them, that, as the Duke of Sully pretends, even the divines of that party purposely allowed themselves to be worsted in the disputes and conferences, that the king might more readily be convinced of the weakness of their cause, and might

1593.

more cordially and sincerely, at least more decently, embrace the religion which it was so much his interest to believe. If this self-denial in so tender a point should appear incredible and supernatural in theologians, it will at least be thought very natural, that a prince so little instructed in these matters as Henry, and desirous to preserve his sincerity, should insensibly bend his opinion to the necessity of his affairs, and should believe that party to have the best arguments, who could alone put him in possession of a kingdom. All circumstances, therefore, being prepared for this great event, that monarch renounced the Protestant religion, and was solemnly received by the French prelates of his party into the bosom of the church.

Elizabeth, who was herself attached to the Protestants, chiefly by her interest, and the circumstances of her birth, and who seems to have entertained some propensity during her whole life to the Catholic superstition, at least to the ancient ceremonies, yet pretended to be extremely displeased with this abjuration of Henry; and she wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the league and the King of Spain were still their common enemies, she hearkened to his apologies; continued her succours both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common agreement.

Scotch affairs.

The intrigues of Spain were not limited to France and England: by means of the never-failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, Philip excited new disorders in Scotland, and gave fresh alarms to Elizabeth. George Kerr, brother to Lord Newbottle, had been taken while he was passing secretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conspiracy of some Catholic noblemen with Philip was discovered. The Earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spanish monarch; and had stipulated to raise all their forces; to join them to a body of Spanish troops, which Philip promised to send into Scotland; and after re-establishing the Catholic religion in

1593.

that kingdom, to march with their united power, in order to effect the same purpose in England [y]. Graham of Fintry, who had also entered into this conspiracy, was taken, and arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth sent Lord Borough ambassador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exercise the same severity on the three earls, to confiscate their estates, and, by annexing them to the crown, both increase his own demesnes, and set an example to all his subjects of the dangers attending treason and rebellion. The advice was certainly rational, but not easy to be executed by the small revenue and limited authority of James. He desired, therefore, some supply from her of men and money; but though she had reason to deem the prosecution of the three popish earls a common cause, she never could be prevailed on to grant him the least assistance. The tenth part of the expense which she bestowed in supporting the French king and the states would have sufficed to execute this purpose, more immediately essential to her security [z]: but she seems ever to have borne some degree of malignity to James, whom she hated both as her heir, and as the son of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

So far from giving James assistance to prosecute the Catholic conspirators, the queen rather contributed to increase his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent disposition of the Earl of Bothwell [a], a nobleman descended from a natural son of James V. Bothwell more than once attempted to render himself master of the king's person; and being expelled the kingdom for these traitorous enterprises, he took shelter in England, was secretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders where his power lay, with a view of still committing some new violence. He succeeded at last in an attempt on the king, and, by the mediation of the English ambassador, imposed dishonourable terms upon that prince: but James, by the authority of the convention of states, annulled this agreement, as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwell, and obliged him to take shelter in England. Elizabeth, pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties

---

[y] Spotswood, p. 391. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 190.

[z] Spotswood, p. 393. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 235.

[a] Spotswood, p. 257, 258.

1594.

by which she was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the King of Scotland. During these disorders, increased by the refractory disposition of the ecclesiastics, the prosecution of the Catholic earls remained in suspense: but at last the Parliament passed an act of attainder against them, and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the Earl of Argyle, who acted by the king's commission, found themselves hard pressed by James himself, and agreed, on certain terms, to leave the kingdom. Bothwell, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take shelter, first in France, then in Italy, where he died some years after in great poverty.

The established authority of the queen secured her from all such attempts as James was exposed to from the mutinous disposition of his subjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domestic disturbance, than by such traitorous and perfidious machinations, as ended in their own disgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal instruments. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma, lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed for the conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction[b]. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious[c].

Instead of avenging herself, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth sought a more honourable vengeance, by supporting the King of France, and assisting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. Norris commanded the English forces in Britany, and assisted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns garrisoned by Spanish forces. In every action, 1594. the English, though they had so long enjoyed domestic peace, discovered a strong military disposition; and the queen, though herself a heroine, found more frequent occasion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution [d]: Sir Martin Frobisher, her brave admiral, perished with many others before Brest. Morlaix had been promised to the English for a place of retreat; but the Duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promise, by making it be inserted in the capitulation, that none but Catholics should be admitted into that city.

---

[b] Camden, p. 577. Birch's Negot. p. 15. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 381.
[c] Camden, p. 582.

Next campaign, the French king, who had long carried 1595. on hostilities with Philip, was at last provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Doulens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war against that monarch. Elizabeth being threatened with a new invasion in England, and with an insurrection in Ireland, recalled most of her forces, and sent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding, also, that the French league was almost entirely dissolved, and that the most considerable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, she thought that he could well support himself by his own force and valour; and she began to be more sparing in his cause of the blood and treasure of her subjects.

Some disgusts which she had received from the states, joined to the remonstrances of her frugal minister Burleigh, made her also inclined to diminish her charges on that side; and she even demanded, by her ambassador, 1596. Sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimbursed all the money which she had expended in supporting them. The states, besides alleging the conditions of the treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till the conclusion of a peace, pleaded their present poverty and distress, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in supporting the war, much more in saving money to discharge their encumbrances. After much negotiation, a new treaty was formed; by which the states engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the English

---

[d] Camden, p. 578.

1596. auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her consent. They also bound themselves, on finishing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the sum of a hundred thousand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment should be in lieu of all demands, and that they should be supplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England[e].

The queen still retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the rising power of the states; and she committed the important trust of Flushing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Essex, who expected so honourable a command; and though this nobleman was daily rising both in reputation with the people, and favour with herself, the queen, who was commonly reserved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper, on this occasion, to give him a refusal. Sir Thomas Baskerville was sent over to France, at the head of two thousand English, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to supply that prince. Some stipulations for mutual assistance were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed.

1597. This body of English were maintained at the expense of the French king; yet did Henry esteem the supply of considerable advantage on account of the great reputation acquired by the English in so many fortunate enterprises undertaken against the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained this campaign by Prince Maurice, the English auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sydney, had acquired honour; and the success of that day was universally ascribed to their discipline and valour.

Naval enterprises.

Though Elizabeth, at a considerable expense of blood and treasure, made war against Philip in France and the Low Countries, the most severe blows which she gave him were by those naval enterprises, which either she or her subjects scarcely ever intermitted during one season.

---

[e] Camden, p. 586.

1597.

In 1594, Richard Hawkins, son of Sir John, the famous navigator, procured the queen's commission, and sailed with three ships to the South Sea, by the Straits of Magellan: but his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himself was taken prisoner on the coast of Chili. James Lancaster was supplied the same year with three ships and a pinnace by the merchants of London, and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty-nine ships of the enemy; and, not content with this success, he made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, where he knew great treasures were at that time lodged. As he approached the shore he saw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but, nowise daunted at this appearance, he placed the stoutest of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with such violence on the landing-place as to split them in pieces. By this bold action he both deprived his men of all resource but in victory, and terrified the enemy, who fled after a short resistance. He returned home with the treasure which he had so bravely acquired. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had anew forfeited the queen's friendship by an intrigue with a maid of honour, and who had been thrown into prison for this misdemeanour, no sooner recovered his liberty, than he was pushed by his active and enterprising genius to attempt some great action. The success of the first Spanish adventurers against Mexico and Peru had begotten an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepossession universally took place, that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiscovered, there were mines and treasures far exceeding any which Cortez or Pizarro had met with. Raleigh, whose turn of mind was somewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook, at his own charge, the discovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the small town of St. Joseph, in the isle of Trinidado, where he found no riches, he left his ship, and sailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to answer his expectations. On his return, he published an account of the country, full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind[f].

---

[f] Camden, p. 584.

1597.

The same year, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America; and they carried with them six ships of the queen's and twenty more, which either were fitted out at their own charge, or were furnished them by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baskerville was appointed commander of the land-forces, which they carried on board. Their first design was to attempt Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carrack was at that time stationed; but as they had not preserved the requisite secrecy, a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the English. Preparations were made in that island for their reception; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave assault which they made on the enemy, was repulsed with loss. Hawkins soon after died; and Drake pursued his voyage to Nombre di Dios, on the isthmus of Darien, where, having landed his men, he attempted to pass forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found such a scheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the same facility which had attended his first enterprises in those parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the passes, and had stationed troops in the woods, who so infested the English by continual alarms and skirmishes, that they were obliged to return, without being able to effect any thing. Drake himself, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died. Sir Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and after having fought a battle, near Cuba, with a Spanish fleet, of which the event was not decisive, he returned to England. The Spaniards suffered some loss from this enterprise, but the English reaped no profit[g].

The bad success of this enterprise in the Indies made the English rather attempt the Spanish dominions in Europe, where, they heard, Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, consisting of a hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war, the rest tenders and small vessels: twenty ships were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen, beside the Dutch. The land-forces were commanded by the Earl of Essex; the navy by Lord Effingham, high-admiral. Both these commanders had expended great sums of their own in the armament, for such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral[h].

---

[g] Monson, p. 167.

The fleet set sail on the first of June, 1596; and meeting with a fair wind, bent its course to Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate, when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned, that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprise.

After a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian's, on the western side of the island of Cadiz, it was, upon deliberation, resolved by the council of war to attack the ships and galleys in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash; and the admiral himself, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained great scruples with regard to it. But Essex strenuously recommended the enterprise; and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea, and gave symptoms of the most extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had secretly given orders that he should not be

---

[h] Camden, p. 591.

CHAP. XLIII. 1597.

permitted to command the van in the attack[i]. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Thomas Howard; but Essex no sooner came within reach of the enemy than he forgot the promise which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midst of the fleet; he broke through, and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity of plunder, animosity against the Spaniards, proved incentives to every one; and the enemy was soon obliged to slip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships aground. Essex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal; and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the English soon carried sword in hand. The generosity of Essex, not inferior to his valour, made him stop the slaughter, and treat his prisoners with the greatest humanity, and even affability and kindness. The English made rich plunder in the city; but missed of a much richer, by the resolution which the Duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, took, of setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loss which the Spaniards sustained in this enterprise amounted to twenty millions of ducats[k]; besides the indignity which that proud and ambitious people suffered from the sacking of one of their chief cities, and destroying in their harbour a fleet of such force and value.

Essex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great success only as a step to future achievements: he insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz; and he undertook, with four hundred men and three months' provisions, to defend the place till succours should arrive from England: but all the other seamen and soldiers were satisfied with the honour which they had acquired; and were impatient to return home, in order to secure their plunder. Every other proposal of Essex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception; his scheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, for assaulting the Groine, for taking St. Andero, and St. Sebastian: and the English, finding it so difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at last left him on the Spanish coast, attended by a very few ships. He complained much to the queen of their want

---

[i] Monson, p. 196.

[k] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 97.

1597.

of spirit in this enterprise; nor was she pleased that they had returned without attempting to intercept the Indian fleet[l]; but the great success, in the enterprise of Cadiz, had covered all their miscarriages: and that princess, though she admired the lofty genius of Essex, could not forbear expressing an esteem for the other officers[m]. The admiral was created Earl of Nottingham; and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex[n]. In the preamble of the patent it was said, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services, in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships: a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself; and he offered to maintain this plea by single combat against the Earl of Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

The achievements in the subsequent year proved not so fortunate; but as the Indian fleet very narrowly escaped the English, Philip had still reason to see the great hazard and disadvantage of that war in which he was engaged, and the superiority which the English, by their naval power, and their situation, had acquired over him. The queen having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and the Groine, and were marching troops thither, with a view of making a descent in Ireland, was resolved to prevent their enterprise, and to destroy the shipping in these harbours. She prepared a large fleet, of a hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers: she embarked on board this fleet five thousand new-levied soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops, whom Sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands. The Earl of Essex, commander in chief both of the land and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron: Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another: Sir Walter Raleigh of the third: Lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Essex: Vere was appointed marshal: Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blount first colonel. The Earls of Rutland and Southampton, the

[l] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 121.

[m] Camden, p. 593.

[n] Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 77.

1597. Lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with several other persons of distinction, embarked as volunteers. Essex declared his resolution either to destroy the new Armada which threatened England, or to perish in the attempt.

9th July. This powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth; but were no sooner out of harbour than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; and, before they could be refitted, Essex found that their provisions were so far spent, that it would not be safe to carry so numerous an army along with him. He dismissed, therefore, all the soldiers, except the thousand veterans under Vere; and laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol and the Groine, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting of the Indian fleet; which had at first been considered only as the second enterprise which he was to attempt.

The Indian fleet in that age, by reason of the imperfection of navigation, had a stated course as well as season, both in their going out and in their return; and there were certain islands at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The Azores being one of these places, where about this time the fleet was expected, Essex bent his course thither; and he informed Raleigh, that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of these islands. By some accident the squadrons were separated; and Raleigh arriving first before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting some time for the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants should, by farther delay, have leisure to make preparations for their defence. He succeeded in the enterprise; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, expressed great displeasure at his conduct, and construed it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: he cashiered, therefore, Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the same punishment on Raleigh himself, had not Lord Thomas Howard interposed with his good offices, and persuaded Raleigh, though high-spirited, to make submissions to the general. Essex, who was placable, as well as hasty and passionate, was soon appeased, and

1597.

both received Raleigh into favour, and restored the other officers to their commands[o]. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly accommodated, laid the first foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards took place between these two gallant commanders.

Essex made next a disposition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons; and Sir William Monson, whose station was the most remote of the fleet, having fallen in with them, made the signals which had been agreed on. That able officer, in his Memoirs, ascribes Essex's failure, when he was so near attaining so mighty an advantage, to his want of experience in seamanship; and the account which he gives of the errors committed by that nobleman appears very reasonable as well as candid[p]. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all sail possible to the Terceras, and got into the safe and well fortified harbour of Angra, before the English fleet could overtake them. Essex intercepted only three ships; which, however, were so rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The causes of the miscarriage in this enterprise were much canvassed in England upon the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took part differently, as they affected either Essex or Raleigh, the people in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, spirit, and generosity of the former, were inclined to justify every circumstance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as she esteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to share her favours with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, second son of Lord Burleigh, was a courtier of promising hopes, much connected with Raleigh; and she made him secretary of state, preferably to Sir Thomas Bodley, whom Essex recommended for that office. But not to disgust Essex, she promoted him to the dignity of earl marshal of England; an office which had been vacant since the death of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Essex might perceive from this conduct, that she never intended to give him the entire ascendant over his rivals, and might thence learn the necessity of moderation and caution. But his temper was too high for submission; his beha-

---

[o] Monson, p. 173.

[p] Ibid. p. 174.

1597.

viour too open and candid to practise the arts of a court; and his free sallies, while they rendered him but more amiable in the eyes of good judges, gave his enemies many advantages against him.

24th Oct.

The war with Spain, though successful, having exhausted the queen's exchequer, she was obliged to assemble a Parliament; where Yelverton, a lawyer, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons[q]. Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper, to inform this assembly of the necessity of a supply. She said that the wars formerly waged in Europe had commonly been conducted by the parties, without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at most a province, from each other; but the object of the present hostilities on the part of Spain was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence: that these blessings, however, she herself had hitherto been able to preserve, in spite of the devil, the pope, and the Spanish tyrant, and all the mischievous designs of all her enemies: that in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her, and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to sell many of the crown lands: and that she could not doubt but her subjects, in a cause where their own honour and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate taxations as should be found necessary for the common defence[r]. The Parliament granted her three subsidies and six fifteenths; the same supply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared so unusual, that they had voted it should never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

The Commons, this session, ventured to engage in two controversies about forms with the House of Peers: a prelude to those encroachments which, as they assumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained that the Lords failed in civility to them, by receiving their messages sitting, with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posture: but the Upper

---

[q] See note [Q], at the end of the volume.

[r] D'Ewes, p. 525. 527. Townsend, p. 79.

1597.

House proved to their full satisfaction, that they were not entitled by custom, and the usage of Parliament, to any more respect [s]. Some amendments had been made by the Lords, to a bill sent up by the Commons; and these amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the Commons. The Lower House took umbrage at the novelty: they pretended that these amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the Peers. The Peers replied, that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the House; and that it was not material whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The Commons were offended at this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any satisfaction [t].

An application was made, by way of petition, to the queen, from the Lower House, against monopolies, an abuse which had arisen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious, though a general answer, for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments [u]. But not to give them too much encouragement in such applications, she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "That with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem; but that they would rather leave these matters to her disposal [w]." The Commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high commission; but not till they had previously obtained permission from her majesty to that purpose [x].

1598.

Elizabeth had reason to foresee that parliamentary supplies would now become more necessary to her than ever; and that the chief burden of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he

---

[s] D'Ewes, p. 539, 540. 580. 585. Townsend, p. 93, 94, 95.

[t] D'Ewes, p. 576, 577.

[u] Ibid. p. 570. 573.

[w] Ibid. p. 547.

[x] Ibid. p. 557, 558.

CHAP. XLIII. 1598.

would proceed to a negotiation, he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the states; that, if possible, a general pacification might be made, by common agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France, in order to remonstrate against peace; the queen, Sir Robert Cecil and Henry Herbert; the states, Justin Nassau and John Barnevelt. Henry said to these ministers, that his early education had been amidst war and danger, and he had passed the whole course of his life either in arms or in military preparations: that, after the proofs which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a course of life to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy were reduced to such a condition as no longer to give umbrage either to him or to his allies: that no private interests of his own, not even those of his people, nothing but the most invincible necessity, could ever induce him to think of a separate peace with Philip, or make him embrace measures not entirely conformable to the wishes of all his confederates: that his kingdom, torn with the convulsions and civil wars of near half a century, required some interval of repose, ere it could reach a condition in which it might sustain itself, much more support its allies: that, after the minds of his subjects were composed to tranquillity, and accustomed to obedience, after his finances were brought into order, and after agriculture and the arts were restored, France, instead of being a burden, as at present, to her confederates, would be able to lend them effectual succour, and amply to repay them all the assistance which she had received during her calamities: and that, if the ambition of Spain would not, at present, grant them upon terms as they should think reasonable, he hoped that in a little time he should attain such a situation as would enable him to mediate more effectually, and with more decisive authority, in their behalf.

The ambassadors were sensible that these reasons were not feigned; and they therefore remonstrated with the less vehemence against the measures which they saw Henry was determined to pursue. The states knew that that monarch was interested never to permit their

1598.

final ruin; and having received private assurances that he would still, notwithstanding the peace, give them assistance, both of men and money, they were well pleased to remain on terms of amity with him. His greatest concern was, to give satisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty. He had a cordial esteem for that princess, a sympathy of manners, and a gratitude for the extraordinary favours which he had received from her during his greatest difficulties; and he used every expedient to apologize and atone for that measure which necessity extorted from him. But as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not negotiate without her ally, Henry found himself obliged to conclude at Vervins a separate peace, by which he recovered possession of all the places seized by Spain during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself leisure to pursue the domestic settlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wise government, he raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved, to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before enjoyed.

Peace of Vervins.

The queen knew that she could also, whenever she pleased, finish the war on equitable terms; and that Philip, having no claims upon her, would be glad to free himself from an enemy who had foiled him in every contest, and who still had it so much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms. Some of her wisest counsellors, particularly the treasurer, advised her to embrace pacific measures; and set before her the advantages of tranquillity, security, and frugality, as more considerable than any success which could attend the greatest victories. But this high-spirited princess, though at first averse to war, seemed now to have attained such an ascendant over the enemy, that she was unwilling to stop the course of her prosperous fortune. She considered that her situation and her past victories had given her entire security against any dangerous invasion; and the war must thenceforth be conducted by sudden enterprises and naval expeditions, in which she possessed an undoubted superiority: that the weak con-

1598.

dition of Philip in the Indies opened to her the view of the most durable advantages; and the yearly return of his treasure by sea afforded a continued prospect of important, though more temporary successes: that, after his peace with France, if she also should consent to an accommodation, he would be able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had surprisingly increased their power by commerce and good government, were still unable, if not supported by their confederates, to maintain war against so potent a monarch; and that, as her defence of that commonwealth was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe, as well as dishonourable, to abandon its cause till she had placed it in a state of greater security.

The Earl of Essex.

These reasons were frequently inculcated on her by the Earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction. The rivalship between this nobleman and Lord Burleigh made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command equal to his shining qualities, he would have so riveted himself in the queen's confidence that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit. But his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation, and she instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII. himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton, the chancellor, who loved Essex, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion by proper acknowledgments; and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must ensue from his supporting a contest with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country. But Essex was deeply stung with the dishonour which he had received; and seemed to think that an insult, which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his sovereign. "If the vilest of all indignities," said he, "is done me, does religion enforce me to sue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why, cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes show no sense of princes' injuries; let *them* acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven:" alluding probably to the character and conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety. "As for me," continued he, "I have received wrong, I feel it; my cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can show in suffering every thing that can or shall be imposed upon me. Your lordship, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourself a looker-on; and me a player of my own game, so you may see more than I; but give me leave to tell you, that since you do but see, and I do suffer, I must of necessity feel more than you[y]."

This spirited letter was shown by Essex to his friends, and they were so imprudent as to disperse copies of it: yet, notwithstanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour: and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of

4th Aug.

[y] See note [R], at the end of the volume.

1598.

Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened about the same time, seemed to ensure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing, indeed, but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well established credit. Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and, by a rare fortune, was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually, from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute or uncontrolled with the queen, he was still, during the course of near forty years, regarded as her principal minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business; virtues which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling them. Of all the queen's ministers, he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality.

8th Aug.

The last act of this able minister was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch, who, after being in some measure deserted by the King of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance, by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now settled at eight hundred thousand pounds. Of this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should continue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns. They stipulated, that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist

1598.

her with a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse; and that, in case she undertook any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to hers[z]. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Soon after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II., who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired, in an advanced age, at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transferred to his daughter, married to Archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that this princess could have any posterity, and as the reversion on failure of her issue was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the states considered this deed only as the change of a name, and they persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert, as it had done against that of Philip.

---

[z] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 340.

CHAPTER XLIV.

State of Ireland.—Tyrone's Rebellion.—Essex sent over to Ireland.—His ill Success.—Returns to England.—Is disgraced.—His Intrigues.—His Insurrection.—His Trial and Execution.—French Affairs.—Mountjoy's Success in Ireland.—Defeat of the Spaniards and Irish.—A Parliament.—Tyrone's Submission.—Queen's Sickness—and Death—and Character.

CHAP. XLIV. 1599. State of Ireland.

Though the dominion of the English over Ireland had been seemingly established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius among the natives; and though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form from the internal combination or policy of the Irish[a].

Most of the English institutions, likewise, by which that island was governed, were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of, for preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

The English nation, all on fire for the project of subduing France, a project whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious, neglected all other enterprises to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which in time would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which they maintained in Ireland they never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the pri-

---

[a] Sir J. Davies, p. 5, 6, 7, &c.

1599.

vilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: want of security among the Irish introducing despair, nourished still more the sloth natural to that uncultivated people.

But the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and, flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous[b].

As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, enlisting soldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors: the power of peace and war was assumed; military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued, and, by degrees, over the English, by whose assistance they conquered; and, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their mother-country[c].

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every Christian nation was cultivating with ardour

---

[b] Sir J. Davies, p. 102, 103, &c.

[c] Ibid. p. 133, 134, &c.

1599.

every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians[d].

As the rudeness and ignorance of the Irish were extreme, they were sunk below the reach of that curiosity and love of novelty by which every other people in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example of the English alone was sufficient to render the reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest, was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilizing of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

The animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish, that, in an insurrection raised by two sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish, because they began to conform themselves to English customs, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been practised by their ancestors[e].

The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a year[f]: the queen, though with much repining[g], commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England: and with this small revenue a body of a thousand men was supported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thousand[h]. No wonder that a force so disproportioned to the object, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections, which still farther inflamed the animosity between the two nations, and increased the disorders to which the Irish were naturally subject.

---

[d] See Spencer's Account of Ireland, throughout.

[e] Camden, p. 457.

[f] Memoirs of the Sidneys, vol. i. p. 86.

[g] Cox, p. 342. Sidney, vol. i. p. 85. 200.

[h] Camden, p. 542. Sidney, vol. i. p. 65. 109. 183, 184.

In 1560, Shan O'Neale, or the Great O'Neale, as the Irish called him, because head of that potent clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; but after some skirmishes he was received into favour, upon his submission, and his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future[i]. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in 1567; but, being pushed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy, and rather than submit to the English, he put himself into the hands of some Scottish islanders, who commonly infested those parts by their incursions. The Scots, who retained a quarrel against him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hospitality, and murdered him at a festival to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the English nation. He is said to have put some of his followers to death because they endeavoured to introduce the use of bread after the English fashion[k]. Though so violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accustomed, after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that he might allay the flame which he had raised by his former excesses[l]. Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who scorned the title of the Earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have restored to him, and who assumed the rank and appellation of King of Ulster. He used also to say, that though the queen was his sovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her seeking[m].

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wisest and most active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for several reigns[n]; and he possessed his authority eleven years, during which he struggled with many difficulties, and made some progress in repressing those disorders which had become inveterate among the people. The Earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave him disturbance, from the hereditary animosity which prevailed between that nobleman and the Earl of Ormond, descended from the only family

---

[i] Camden, p. 385. 391.
[k] Ibid. p. 409.
[l] Ibid. Cox, p. 324.
[m] Ibid. p. 321.
[n] Cox, p. 350.

CHAP. XLIV. 1599.

established in Ireland that had steadily maintained its loyalty to the English crown[o]. The Earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France before his designs were ripe for execution. Stukely, another fugitive, found such credit with the pope, Gregory the Thirteenth, that he flattered that pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, King of Ireland; and, as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of Marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign[p]. He passed next into Spain, and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing those high promises which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and, following the fortunes of Don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince, in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

Lord Gray, after some interval, succeeded to the government of Ireland; and, in 1579, suppressed a new rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Bourks followed a few years after; occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to suppress the tyranny of the chieftains over their vassals[q]. The queen, finding Ireland so burdensome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the Earl of Essex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the subduing and planting of Clandeboy, Ferny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures; but that enterprise proved unfortunate, and Essex died of a distemper occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his disappointments. An university was founded in Dublin, with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants[r]. But the most unhappy expedient employed in the government of

---

[o] Camden, p. 424.

[p] Ibid. p. 430. Cox, p. 354.

[q] Stowe, p. 720.

[r] Camden, p. 566.

Ireland was that made use of in 1585, by Sir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy: he put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which these parts were much infested[s]. At the same time, the invitation of Philip, joined to their zeal for the Catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country wars; and thus Ireland, being provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters.

Tyrone's rebellion.

Hugh O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of Earl of Tyrone; but, having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty, so common among uncultivated nations, and was also eminent for courage, a virtue which their disorderly course of life requires, and which, notwithstanding, being less supported by the principle of honour, is commonly more precarious among them than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this spirit, secretly fomented the discontents of the Maguires, O'Donnels, O'Rourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet, trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the hands of Sir William Russel, who, in the year 1594, was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain: he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition; and, having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

---

[s] Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 203.

1599.

The native Irish were so poor that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were easily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expense requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses, to which they retreated. These motives rendered Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, the more willing to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and, after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Blackwater, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty[t].

The English council were now sensible that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporizing arts of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. It was therefore resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, as a man who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed, she thought, with talents equal to the undertaking. But the young Earl of Essex, ambitious of fame, and desirous of obtaining this government for himself, opposed the choice of Mountjoy; and represented the necessity of appointing for that important employment some person more experienced in war than this nobleman, more practised in business, and of higher quality and reputation. By this description, he was understood to mean himself[u]; and no sooner was his desire known, than his enemies, even more zealously than his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes. Many of his friends thought that he never ought to consent, except for a short time, to accept of any employment which must remove him from court, and prevent him from cultivating that personal inclination which the queen so visibly bore him[w]. His enemies hoped that, if by his absence she had once leisure to forget the charms of his person and conversation, his impatient and lofty demeanour would soon disgust a princess who usually exacted such profound submission and implicit obedience from all her servants. But Essex was incapable of entering into such cautious views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely desirous of subduing the Irish rebels, and who was much prepossessed in favour of Essex's genius, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of Lord Lieutenant. The more to encourage him in his undertaking, she granted him by his patent more extensive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finishing the war as he pleased, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the most considerable employments of the kingdom[x]. And to ensure him of success, she levied a numerous army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, which she afterwards augmented to twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; a force which it was apprehended would be able in one campaign to overwhelm the rebels, and make an entire conquest of Ireland. Nor did Essex's enemies, the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lord Cobham, throw any obstacles in the way of these preparations; but hoped that, the higher the queen's expectations of

---

[t] Cox, p. 415.

Essex sent over to Ireland.

---

[u] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512.

[w] Cabala, p. 79.

[x] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 366.

1599.

success were raised, the more difficult it would be for the event to correspond to them. In a like view, they rather seconded than opposed those exalted encomiums, which Essex's numerous and sanguine friends dispersed of his high genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generosity, and his noble birth; nor were they displeased to observe that passionate fondness which the people every where expressed for this nobleman. These artful politicians had studied his character; and finding that his open and undaunted spirit, if taught temper and reserve from opposition, must become invincible, they resolved rather to give full breath to those sails which were already too much expanded, and to push him upon dangers of which he seemed to make such small account[y]. And, the better to make advantage of his indiscretions, spies were set upon all his actions and even expressions; and his vehement spirit, which, while he was in the midst of the court, and environed by his rivals, was unacquainted with disguise, could not fail, after he thought himself surrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant suspicions and constructions.

Essex left London in the month of March, attended with the acclamations of the populace; and, what did him more honour, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from affection to his person, had attached themselves to his fortunes, and sought fame and military experience under so renowned a commander. The first act of authority which he exercised after his arrival in Ireland was an indiscretion, but of the generous kind; and in both these respects suitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the Earl of Southampton, general of the horse; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's displeasure, by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had therefore enjoined Essex not to employ in any command under him. She no sooner heard of this instance of disobedience, than she reprimanded him, and ordered him to recall his commission to Southampton. But Essex, who had imagined that some reasons which he opposed to her first injunctions had satisfied her, had the imprudence to remonstrate against these second orders [z]; and it was not till she reiterated her commonds, that he could be prevailed on to displace his friend.

---

[y] Camden. Osborne, p. 371.

His ill success.

Essex, on his landing at Dublin, deliberated with the Irish council concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war against the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprise. He had always, while in England, blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who harassed their troops in small enterprises, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels, had given them leisure to recruit their broken forces [a]. In conformity to these views, he had ever insisted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his instructions had been drawn agreeably to these his declared resolutions. But the Irish counsellors persuaded him that the season was too early for the enterprise, and that, as the morasses, in which the northern Irish usually sheltered themselves, would not as yet be passable to the English forces, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster. Their secret reason for this advice was, that many of them possessed estates in that province, and were desirous to have the enemy dislodged from their neighbourhood [b]: but the same selfish spirit which had induced them to give this counsel, made them soon after disown it, when they found the bad consequences with which it was attended [c].

Essex obliged all the rebels of Munster either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: but as the Irish, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they considered their defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become sickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was surprisingly diminished in number. The courage of the soldiers was even much abated; for, though they had prevailed in some lesser enterprises against Lord Cahir and others, yet had they sometimes met with more stout resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were wont to despise: and as they were raw troops and inexperienced, a considerable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the enemy. Essex was so enraged at this misbehaviour, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men[d]. But this act of severity, though necessary, had intimidated the soldiers, and increased their aversion to the service.

---

[z] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 421. 451.

[a] Ibid. p. 431. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512.

[b] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 443.

[c] Winwood, vol. i. p. 140.

The queen was extremely disgusted when she heard that so considerable a part of the season was consumed in these frivolous enterprises; and was still more surprised that Essex persevered in the same practice which he had so much condemned in others, and which he knew to be so much contrary to her purpose and intention. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leisure to recruit from their sickness and fatigue, left the main army in quarters, and marched with a small body of fifteen hundred men into the county of Ophelie against the O'Connors and O'Mores, whom he forced to a submission: but, on his return to Dublin, he found the army so much diminished, that he wrote to the English council an account of its condition, and informed them that, if he did not immediately receive a reinforcement of two thousand men, it would be impossible for him this season to attempt any thing against Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for farther inactivity, the queen immediately sent over the number demanded[e]; and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so averse to this enterprise, and so terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted[f]; and Essex found that, after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarcely lead four thousand men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army;

---

[d] Cox, p. 421.

[e] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 430. Cox, p. 421.

[f] Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 112, 113.

1599.

but was soon sensible that, in so advanced a season, it would be impossible for him to effect any thing against an enemy who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid every decisive action. He hearkened, therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a place near the two camps was appointed for that purpose. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle; but Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission to the lord lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded to the first of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning [g]. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions; and there appeared afterwards some reason to suspect that he had here commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy [h].

So unexpected an issue of an enterprise, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex; and this disgust was much augmented by other circumstances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council, full of peevish and impatient expressions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be believed against him, and discovering symptoms of a mind equally haughty and discontented. She took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, to the office of master of the wards, an office to which he himself aspired; and dreading that, if he remained any longer absent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he hastily embraced a resolution which he knew had once succeeded with the Earl of Leicester, the former favourite of Elizabeth. Leicester being informed, while in the Low Countries, that his mistress was extremely displeased with his conduct, disobeyed her orders by coming over to England; and having pacified her by his presence, by his apologies, and by his flattery and insinuation, disappointed all the expectations of his enemies[i]. Essex, therefore, weighing more the similarity of circumstances, than the difference of character between himself and Leicester, immediately set out for England; and, making speedy journeys, he arrived at court before any one was in the least apprized of his intentions[k]. Though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened up stairs to the presence chamber; thence to the privy chamber; nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and had some private conference with her; where he was so graciously received, that on his departure he was heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God that, though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home[l].

---

[g] Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 125.

[h] Winwood, vol. i. p. 307. State Trials. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 514. 535. 537.

Returns to England.

But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the result of her surprise, and of the momentary satisfaction which she felt on the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite: after she had leisure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her; and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty, imperious spirit, who, presuming on her partiality, had pretended to domineer in her councils, to engross all her favour, and to act, in the most important affairs, without regard to her orders and instructions. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of lord-keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of his countess; nor was so much as the intercourse of letters permitted between them. Essex dropped many expressions of humiliation and sorrow, none of resentment; he professed an entire submission to the queen's will; declared his intention of

Is disgraced.

---

[i] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 453.

[k] Winwood, vol. i. p. 118.

[l] Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 127.

1599.

retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and business: but though he affected to be so entirely cured of his aspiring ambition, the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty spirit, and he fell into a distemper which seemed to put his life in danger.

The queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him [m]; and when she heard of his sickness, she was not a little alarmed with his situation. She ordered eight physicians of the best reputation and experience to consult of his case; and being informed that the issue was much to be apprehended, she sent Dr. James to him with some broth, and desired that physician to deliver him a message, which she probably deemed of still greater virtue, that if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. The bystanders, who carefully observed her countenance, remarked that, in pronouncing these words, her eyes were suffused with tears [n].

When the symptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Essex were known, they gave a sensible alarm to the faction which had declared their opposition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the most violent as well as the most ambitious of his enemies, was so affected with the appearance of this sudden revolution, that he was seized with sickness in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the same salve to his wound, and to send him a favourable message, expressing her desire of his recovery [o].

1600.

The medicine which the queen administered to these aspiring rivals was successful with both; and Essex, being now allowed the company of his countess, and having entertained more promising hopes of his future fortunes, was so much restored in his health as to be thought past danger. A belief was instilled into Elizabeth, that his distemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compassion [p]; and she relapsed

---

[m] Birch's Memoirs, p. 444, 445. Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 196.

[n] Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 151.

[o] Ibid. p. 139.

[p] Ibid. p. 153.

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

into her former rigour against him. He wrote her a letter, and sent her a rich present on New-Year's day, as was usual with the courtiers at that time: she read the letter, but rejected the present[q]. After some interval, however, of severity, she allowed him to retire to his own house; and though he remained still under custody, and was sequestered from all company, he was so grateful for this mark of lenity, that he sent her a letter of thanks on the occasion. "This farther degree of goodness," said he, "doth sound in my ears as if your majesty spake these words: *Die not, Essex; for though I punish thine offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be served again by thee.* My prostrate soul makes this answer: *I hope for that blessed day.* And in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully, borne by me[r]." The Countess of Essex, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, possessed, as well as her husband, a refined taste in literature; and the chief consolation which Essex enjoyed during this period of anxiety and expectation, consisted in her company, and in reading with her those instructive and entertaining authors, which, even during the time of his greatest prosperity, he had never entirely neglected.

There were several incidents which kept alive the queen's anger against Essex. Every account which she received from Ireland convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes to which he had employed so much force and treasure. Tyrone, so far from being quelled, had thought proper, in less than three months, to break the truce; and, joining with O'Donnel and other rebels, had overrun almost the whole kingdom. He boasted that he was certain of receiving a supply of men, money, and arms, from Spain: he pretended to be champion of the Catholic religion: and he openly exulted in the present of a phœnix plume, which the pope, Clement VIII., in order to encourage him in the prosecution of so good a cause, had consecrated, and had conferred upon him[s]. The queen, that she might check his pro-

---

[q] Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 155, 156.

[r] Birch's Memoirs, p. 444.

[s] Camden, p. 617.

1600.

gress, returned to her former intention of appointing Mountjoy lord deputy; and though that nobleman, who was an intimate friend of Essex, and desired his return to the government of Ireland, did at first very earnestly excuse himself, on account of his bad state of health, she obliged him to accept of the employment. Mountjoy found the island almost in a desperate condition; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was so little discouraged, that he immediately advanced against Tyrone in Ulster. He penetrated into the heart of that county, the chief seat of the rebels: he fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to bridle the Irish: he chased them from the field, and obliged them to take shelter in the woods and morasses: he employed, with equal success, Sir George Carew in Munster: and by these promising enterprises, he gave new life to the queen's authority in that island.

As the comparison of Mountjoy's administration with that of Essex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, she received additional disgust from the partiality of the people, who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Libels were secretly dispersed against Cecil and Raleigh, and all his enemies; and his popularity, which was always great, seemed rather to be increased than diminished by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to justify to the public her conduct with regard to him, had often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the star-chamber for his offences: but her tenderness for him prevailed at last over her severity; and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy council. The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cause against him, and treated him with the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate. He displayed, in the strongest colours, all the faults committed by Essex in his administration of Ireland: his making Southampton general of the horse, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his deserting the enterprise against Tyrone, and marching to Leinster and Munster; his conferring knighthood on too many persons; his secret conference with Tyrone; and his sudden return

1600.

from Ireland, in contempt of her majesty's commands. He also exaggerated the indignity of the conditions which Tyrone had been allowed to propose; odious and abominable conditions, said he; a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himself and every traitor in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all of them [t]. The solicitor-general, Fleming, insisted upon the wretched situation in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis, son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the present reign, closed the charge, with displaying the undutiful expressions contained in some letters written by the earl.

Essex, when he came to plead in his own defence, renounced, with great submission and humility, all pretensions to an apology [u]; and declared his resolution never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his sovereign. He said, that, having severed himself from the world, and abjured all sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple to confess every failing or error into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him; that his inward sorrow for his offences against her majesty was so profound, that it exceeded all his outward crosses and afflictions, nor had he any scruple of submitting to a public confession of whatever she had been pleased to impute to him; that in his acknowledgments he retained only one reserve, which he never would relinquish but with his life, the assertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty the best service which his poor abilities would permit; and that, if this sentiment were allowed by the council, he willingly acquiesced in any condemnation or sentence which they could pronounce against him. This submission was uttered with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience [w]. All the privy counsellors, in giving their judgment, made no scruple of doing the earl justice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard

---

[t] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 449.

[u] Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 200.

[w] Ibid. p. 200, 201.

1600.

and humanity. And the sentence pronounced by the lord-keeper (to which the council assented) was in these words: "If this cause," said he, "had been heard in the star-chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that prison which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But since we are now in another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is, that the Earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of earl marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it shall please her majesty to release this and all the rest of his sentence[x]." The Earl of Cumberland made a slight opposition to this sentence; and said that, if he thought it would stand, he would have required a little more time to deliberate; that he deemed it somewhat severe; and that any commander in chief might easily incur a like penalty. But, however, added he, in confidence of her majesty's mercy, I agree with the rest. The Earl of Worcester delivered his opinion in a couple of Latin verses; importing that, where the gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuse for transgressions against the divinity.

Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius for the sciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to Lord Burleigh, and cousin-german to the secretary: but notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with so little protection from his powerful relations, that he had not yet obtained any preferment in the law, which was his profession. But Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon, had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of solicitor-general; and, in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land, to the value of eighteen hundred pounds[y]. The public could ill excuse Bacon's appearance before the council, against so munificent a

---

[x] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 454. Camden, p. 626, 627.

[y] Cabala, p. 78.

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

benefactor; though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands: but she was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she imposed on him a new task, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to satisfy the public of the justice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmness of character more than humanity, gave to the whole transaction the most favourable turn for Essex; and, in particular, pointed out, in elaborate expression, the dutiful submission which that nobleman discovered in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped she meant that of herself[z].

All the world indeed expected that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit[a], perhaps, as is usual in reconcilements founded on inclination, would acquire an additional ascendant over the queen, and after all his disgraces would again appear more a favourite than ever. They were confirmed in this hope when they saw that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court[b], he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty, and that all his friends had access to him. Essex himself seemed determined to persevere in that conduct which had hitherto been so successful, and which the queen, by all this discipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: he wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness till she deigned to admit him to that presence which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment; and that he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field, let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." The queen was much pleased with these sentiments, and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting she should now make some experiment of his submission; that her father would never have pardoned so much obstinacy; but that, if the furnace of affliction produced such good effects, she should ever after have the better opinion of her chemistry[c].

---

[z] Cabala, p. 83.

[a] Winwood, vol. i. p. 254.

[b] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 462.

The Earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he considered this event as the critical circumstance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinstated in credit and authority[d]. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper somewhat haughty and severe; and being continually surrounded with Essex's enemies, means were found to persuade her that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo this farther trial before he could again be safely received into favour. She therefore denied his request; and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender[e].

His intrigues.

This rigour, pushed one step too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the source of infinite sorrow and vexation to the queen herself. Essex, who had with great difficulty so long subdued his proud spirit, and whose patience was now exhausted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, burst at once all restraints of submission and of prudence, and determined to seek relief, by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies. Even during his greatest favour, he had ever been accustomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his sovereign; and as this practice gratified his own temper, and was sometimes successful, he had imprudently imagined that it was the only proper method of managing her[f]. But, being now reduced to despair, he gave entire reins to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already possessed, he practised anew every art of popularity; and endeavoured to increase the general good-will by a hospitable

---

[c] Camden, p. 628.

[d] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 472.

[e] Camden, p. 628.

[f] Cabala, p. 79.

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

manner of life, little suited to his situation and circumstances. His former employments had given him great connexions with men of the military profession; and he now entertained, by additional caresses and civilities, a friendship with all desperate adventurers, whose attachment he hoped might, in his present views, prove serviceable to him. He secretly courted the confidence of the Catholics; but his chief trust lay in the puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex-house; he had daily prayers and sermons in his family; and he invited all the zealots in London to attend those pious exercises. Such was the disposition now beginning to prevail among the English, that instead of feasting and public spectacles, the methods anciently practised to gain the populace, nothing so effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public as these fanatical entertainments. And as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their sermons the doctrine of resistance to the civil magistrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for those seditious projects which Essex was secretly meditating[g].

But the greatest imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openness of his temper, by which he was ill qualified to succeed in such difficult and dangerous enterprises. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was even heard to say of the queen, that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body[h]. Some court ladies, whose favours Essex had formerly neglected, carried her these stories, and incensed her to a high degree against him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though she was now approaching to her seventieth year, she allowed her courtiers[i], and even foreign ambassadors[k], to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good sense been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity[l].

---

[g] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 463. Camden, p. 630.

[h] Camden, p. 629. Osborne, p. 397. Sir Walter Raleigh's Prerogative of Parliament, p. 43.

[i] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 442, 443.

[k] Sidney Letters, vol. ii. p. 171.

[l] See note [S], at the end of the volume.

1600.

There was also an expedient employed by Essex which, if possible, was more provoking to the queen than those sarcasms on her age and deformity; and that was, his secret applications to the King of Scots, her heir and successor. That prince had this year very narrowly escaped a dangerous, though ill-formed conspiracy of the Earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this disagreeable circumstance, that the obstinate ecclesiastics persisted, in spite of the most incontestable evidence, to maintain to his face, that there had been no such conspiracy. James, harassed with his turbulent and factious subjects, cast a wishful eye to the succession of England; and, in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his desire increased of mounting that throne, on which, besides acquiring a great addition of power and splendour, he hoped to govern a people so much more tractable and submissive. He negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to ensure himself friends and partisans: he even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himself in no positive promise, he flattered the Catholics with hopes that, in the event of his succession, they might expect some more liberty than was at present indulged them. Elizabeth was the only sovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of succession: he knew that, though her advanced age might now invite her to think of fixing an heir to the crown, she never could bear the prospect of her own death without horror, and was determined still to retain him, and all other competitors, in an entire dependence upon her.

Essex was descended by females from the royal family; and some of his sanguine partisans had been so imprudent as to mention his name among those of other pretenders to the crown; but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee, whom he secretly sent into Scotland, to assure James, that, so far from entertaining such ambitious views, he was determined to use every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of succession. James willingly hearkened to this proposal, but did not approve of the violent methods which Essex intended to employ. Essex had communicated

1600. his scheme to Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland; and as no man ever commanded more the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a person of that virtue and prudence to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the King of Scots her successor[m]: and such was Essex's impatient ardour, that, though James declined this dangerous expedient, he still endeavoured to persuade Mountjoy not to desist from the project; but the deputy, who thought that such violence, though it might be prudent, and even justifiable, when supported by a sovereign prince, next heir to the crown, would be rash and criminal if attempted by subjects, absolutely refused his concurrence. The correspondence, however, between Essex and the court of Scotland was still conducted with great secrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, besides conciliating the favour of James, represented all his own adversaries as enemies to that prince's succession, and as men entirely devoted to the interests of Spain, and partisans of the chimerical title of the Infanta.

The Infanta and the Archduke Albert had made some advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was chosen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the English resident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were sent thither as ambassadors from England, and negotiated with Zuniga, Carillo, Richardot, and Verheiken, ministers of Spain, and the
16th May. archduke; but the conferences were soon broken off by disputes with regard to the ceremonial. Among the European states, England had ever been allowed the precedency above Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and the other kingdoms of which the Spanish monarchy was composed; and Elizabeth insisted, that this ancient right was not lost on account of the junction of these states, and that that monarchy, in its present situation, though it surpassed the English in extent as well as in power, could not be compared with it in point of antiquity, the only durable and regular foundation of precedency among kingdoms, as well as noble families. That she might show, however, a pacific disposition, she

---

[m] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 471.

1600.

was content to yield to an equality; but the Spanish ministers, as their nation had always disputed precedency even with France, to which England yielded, would proceed no farther in the conference, till their superiority of rank were acknowledged [n]. During the preparations for this abortive negotiation, the Earl of Nottingham, the admiral, Lord Buckhurst, treasurer, and secretary Cecil, had discovered their inclination to peace; but as the English nation, flushed with success, and sanguine in their hopes of plunder and conquest, were in general averse to that measure, it was easy for a person so popular as Essex to infuse into the multitude an opinion, that these ministers had sacrificed the interests of their country to Spain, and would even make no scruple of receiving a sovereign from that hostile nation.

1601.

But Essex, not content with these arts for decrying his adversaries, proceeded to concert more violent methods of ruining them, chiefly instigated by Cuffe, his secretary, a man of a bold and arrogant spirit, who had acquired a great ascendant over his patron. A select council of malecontents was formed, who commonly met at Drury-house, and were composed of Sir Charles Davers, to whom the house belonged, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Essex, who boasted that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note, at his devotion, and who trusted still more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his associates those secret designs with which his confidence in so powerful a party had inspired him. Among other criminal projects, the result of blind rage and despair, he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms, and asked their opinion, whether he had best begin with seizing the palace or the Tower, or set out with making himself master at once of both places. The first enterprise being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was agreed that Sir Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should possess himself of the palace gates; that Davies should seize the hall, Davers the guard-chamber and presence-chamber; and that Essex should rush in from the Mews, attended

His insurrection.

---

[n] Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 186—226.

CHAP. XLIV. 1601. by a body of his partisans; should entreat the queen, with all demonstrations of humility, to remove his enemies; should oblige her to assemble a Parliament; and should, with common consent, settle a new plan of government[o].

7th Feb. While these desperate projects were in agitation, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen; and she sent Robert Sacville, son of the treasurer, to Essex-house, on pretence of a visit, but in reality with a view of discovering whether there were in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations, which might threaten an insurrection. Soon after, Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house; and while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sacville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected, and that the easiest punishment which he had reason to apprehend was a new and more severe confinement; he therefore excused himself to the council, on pretence of an indisposition, and he immediately despatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They deliberated whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom, or instantly seize the palace with the force which they could assemble, or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the earl. Essex declared against the first expedient, and professed himself determined to undergo any fate rather than submit to live the life of a fugitive. To seize the palace seemed impracticable without more preparations; especially as the queen seemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had used the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themselves to the city; and, while the prudence and feasibility of this resolution was under debate, a person arrived, who, as if he had received a commission for the purpose, gave them assurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed, that they might securely rest any project on that foundation. The popularity of Essex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that, with no other assistance than the good-will of the multitude, he might overturn Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wisdom, supported by vigour, and concurring with the general sentiments of the nation. The wild project of raising the city was immediately resolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emissaries were despatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreating their presence and assistance.

---

[o] Camden, p. 630. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 464. State Trials. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 542, 543.

8th Feb.

Next day there appeared at Essex-house the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, the Lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Essex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies exposed him. To some he said, that he would throw himself at the queen's feet, and crave her justice and protection; to others he boasted of his interest in the city, and affirmed, that whatever might happen, this resource could never fail him. The queen was informed of these designs by means of intelligence conveyed, as is supposed, to Raleigh, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and having ordered the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, she sent Egerton, lord keeper, to Essex-house, with the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief justice, in order to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket; but all their servants were excluded, except the purse-bearer. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced, in their turn, by the angry multitude who surrounded them, the earl, who found that matters were past recall, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking swords, and in his passage

CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

to the city was joined by the Earl of Bedford and Lord Cromwell. He cried aloud, *For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!* and then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, otherwise they could not do him any service, no one showed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex, meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the Earl of Cumberland and Lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and thought of retreating to his own house. He found the streets in his passage barricadoed and guarded by the citizens, under the command of Sir John Levison. In his attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman to whom he bore great friendship, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himself, attended by a few of his partisans, (for the greater part began secretly to withdraw themselves,) retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Essex-house. He there found that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counsellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to despair, and appeared determined, in prosecution of Lord Sandys' advice, to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to perish, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than basely by the hands of the executioner; but after some parley, and after demanding in vain, first hostages, then conditions, from the besiegers, he surrendered at discretion; requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing[p].

19th Feb. His trial,

The queen, who during all this commotion had behaved with as great tranquillity and security as if there had only passed a fray in the streets, in which she was nowise concerned[q], soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the criminals. The Earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, where Buckhurst acted as lord steward. The guilt of the prisoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, besides the insurrection known to every body, the treasonable conferences at Drury-house were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court: the confessions of the Earl of Rutland, of the Lords Cromwell, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the Peers, according to the practice of that age. Essex's best friends were scandalized at his assurance in insisting so positively on his innocence, and the goodness of his intentions; and still more at his vindictive disposition, in accusing, without any appearance of reason, secretary Cecil, as a partisan of the Infanta's title. The secretary, who had expected this charge, stepped into the court, and challenged Essex to produce his authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous[r]. When sentence was pronounced, Essex spoke like a man who expected nothing but death: but he added, that he should be sorry if he were represented to the queen as a person that despised her clemency, though he should not, he believed, make any cringing submissions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and submissive: he entreated the good offices of the Peers in so modest and becoming a manner, as excited compassion in every one.

---

[p] Camden, p. 632.

[q] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 469.

The most remarkable circumstance in Essex's trial was Bacon's appearance against him. He was none of the crown lawyers, so was not obliged, by his office, to assist at this trial; yet did he not scruple, in order to obtain the queen's favour, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whose generosity he had often experienced. He compared Essex's conduct, in pretending to fear the attempts of his adversaries, to that of Pisistratus the Athenian, who cut and wounded his own body, and making the people believe that his enemies had committed the violence, obtained a guard for his person, by whose assistance he afterwards subdued the liberties of his country.

After Essex had passed some days in the solitude and reflections of a prison, his proud heart was at last subdued,

---

[r] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 530.

1601.

not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion; a principle which he had before attempted to make the instrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and consideration. His spiritual directors persuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of Heaven, unless he made a full confession of his disloyalty; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the King of Scots. He spared not even his most intimate friends, such as Lord Mountjoy, whom he had engaged in these conspiracies; and he sought to pacify his present remorse by making such atonements as, in any other period of his life, he would have deemed more blameable than those attempts themselves, which were the objects of his penitence[s]. Sir Harry Nevil, in particular, a man of merit, he accused of a correspondence with the conspirators; though it appears that this gentleman had never assented to the proposals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treason, an office to which every man of honour naturally bears the strongest reluctance[t]. Nevil was thrown into prison, and underwent a severe persecution; but as the queen found Mountjoy an able and successful commander, she continued him in his government, and sacrificed her resentment to the public service.

Elizabeth affected extremely the praise of clemency, and in every great example which she had made during her reign, she had always appeared full of reluctance and hesitation; but the present situation of Essex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the most real agitation and irresolution. She felt a perpetual combat between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion, the care of her own safety and concern for her favourite; and her situation, during this interval, was perhaps more an object of pity than that to which Essex himself was reduced. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. Essex's enemies told her, that he himself desired to die; and had assured her, that she could never be in safety while he lived: it is likely that this proof of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all the fond affection which she had so long indulged towards the unhappy prisoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear, and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution was private, in the Tower, agreeably to his own request. He was apprehensive, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of Heaven was the only proper sentiment which he could indulge[u]; and the queen, no doubt, thought that prudence required the removing of so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye. Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the Tower on purpose, and who beheld Essex's execution from a window, increased much by this action the general hatred under which he already laboured: it was thought that his sole intention was to feast his eyes with the death of an enemy, and no apology which he could make for so ungenerous a conduct could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animosity with which he urged on Essex's fate, even when Cecil relented[w], were still regarded as the principles of this unmanly behaviour.

---

[s] Winwood, vol. i. p. 300.

[t] Ibid. p. 302.

25th Feb. and execution.

The Earl of Essex was but thirty-four years of age, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. We must here, as in many other instances, lament the inconstancy of human nature, that a person endowed with so many noble virtues, generosity, sincerity, friendship, valour, eloquence, and industry, should, in the latter period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable passions, and involved not only himself but many of his friends in utter ruin. The queen's tenderness and passion for him, as it was the cause of those premature honours which he attained,

---

[u] Dr. Barlow's Sermon on Essex's execution. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 534.

[w] Murden, p. 811.

CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

seems, on the whole, the chief circumstance which brought on his unhappy fate. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtiness which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and as her amorous inclinations, in so advanced an age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged by an imprudent openness, of which he made profession, to discover too easily those sentiments to her. The many reconciliations and returns of affection, of which he had still made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he pushed her beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot, that though the sentiments of the woman were ever strong in her, those of the sovereign had still, in the end, appeared predominant.

Some of Essex's associates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Merie, and Davies, were tried and condemned, and all of these, except Davies, were executed. The queen pardoned the rest, being persuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendship to that nobleman, and their care of his safety, and were ignorant of the more criminal part of his intentions. Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty, but he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign.

The King of Scots, apprehensive lest his correspondence with Essex might have been discovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, sent the Earl of Marre and Lord Kinloss as ambassadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her escape from the late insurrection and conspiracy. They were also ordered to make secret inquiry whether any measures had been taken by her for excluding him from the succession, as well as to discover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counsellors, in case of the queen's demise[x]. They found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish; and they even entered into a correspondence with secretary Cecil, whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was now uncontrolled[y], and who was resolved, by this policy, to acquire in time the confidence of the successor. He knew how jealous Elizabeth ever was of her authority, and he therefore carefully concealed from her his attachment to James: but he afterwards asserted, that nothing could be more advantageous to her than this correspondence; because the King of Scots, secure of mounting the throne by his undoubted title, aided by those connexions with the English ministry, was the less likely to give any disturbance to the present sovereign. He also persuaded that prince to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect that time should open to him the inheritance of the crown, without pushing his friends on desperate enterprises, which would totally incapacitate them from serving him. James's equity, as well as his natural facility of disposition, easily inclined him to embrace that resolution[z]; and in this manner the minds of the English were silently but universally disposed to admit, without opposition, the succession of the Scottish line: the death of Essex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favourable than prejudicial to that great event.

---

[x] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 510.

[y] Osborne, p. 615.

French affairs.

The French king, who was little prepossessed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reasons, was averse to the union of England and Scotland[a], made his ambassador drop some hints to Cecil of Henry's willingness to concur in any measure for disappointing the hopes of the Scottish monarch; but as Cecil showed an entire disapprobation of such schemes, the court of France took no farther steps in that matter; and thus the only foreign power which could give much disturbance to James's succession was induced to acquiesce in it[b]. Henry made a journey this summer to Calais, and the queen, hearing of his intentions, went to Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, she most loved and most respected. The King of France, who felt the same sentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the proposal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared necessary to lay aside, by common consent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote successively two letters to Henry, one by Edmondes, another by Sir Robert Sidney; in which she expressed a desire of conferring about a business of importance with some minister in whom that prince reposed entire confidence. The Marquis of Rosni, the king's favourite and

---

[z] Spotswood, p. 471, 472.

[a] Winwood, vol. i. p. 352.

[b] Spotswood, p. 471.

1601.

prime minister, came to Dover in disguise, and the memoirs of that able statesman contain a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. This princess had formed a scheme for establishing, in conjunction with Henry, a new system in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the erection of new states on the ruins of the house of Austria. She had even the prudence to foresee the perils which might ensue from the aggrandizement of her ally; and she purposed to unite all the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier against the dangerous increase of the French as well as of the Spanish monarchy. Henry had himself long meditated such a project against the Austrian family; and Rosni could not forbear expressing his astonishment, when he found that Elizabeth and his master, though they had never communicated their sentiments on this subject, not only had entered into the same general views, but had also formed the same plan for their execution. The affairs, however, of France were not yet brought to a situation which might enable Henry to begin that great enterprise; and Rosni satisfied the queen, that it would be necessary to postpone for some years their united attack on the house of Austria. He departed, filled with just admiration at the solidity of Elizabeth's judgment, and the greatness of her mind; and he owns, that she was entirely worthy of that high reputation which she enjoyed in Europe.

The queen's magnanimity in forming such extensive projects was the more remarkable, as, besides her having fallen so far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with abilities and success, were still in disorder, and made a great diversion of her forces. The expense, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow revenues, and her ministers, taking advantage of her disposition to frugality, proposed to her an expedient of saving, which, though she at first disapproved of it, she was at last induced to embrace. It was represented to her, that the great sums of money remitted to Ireland for the pay of the English forces came, by the necessary course of circulation, into the hands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad all necessary supplies of arms

1601.

and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that kingdom, and its want of every useful commodity, they could not otherwise find means to purchase. It was therefore recommended to her, that she should pay her forces in base money; and it was asserted, that, besides the great saving to the revenue, this species of coin could never be exported with advantage, and would not pass in any foreign market. Some of her wiser counsellors maintained, that if the pay of the soldiers were raised in proportion, the Irish rebels would necessarily reap the same benefit from the base money, which would always be taken at a rate suitable to its value; if the pay were not raised, there would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who, whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal, would soon find, from experience, that they were defrauded in their income[c]. But Elizabeth, though she justly valued herself on fixing the standard of the English coin, much debased by her predecessors, and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was seduced by the specious arguments employed by the treasurer on this occasion; and she coined a great quantity of base money, which he made use of in the pay of her forces in Ireland[d].

Mountjoy's success in Ireland.

Mountjoy, the deputy, was a man of abilities; and foreseeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, he led them instantly into the field, and resolved, by means of strict discipline, and by keeping them employed against the enemy, to obviate those inconveniences which were justly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortress at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Genises out of Lecale; he harassed Tyrone in Ulster with inroads and lesser expeditions; and by destroying every where, and during all seasons, the provisions of the Irish, he reduced them to perish by famine in the woods and morasses, to which they were obliged to retreat. At the same time, Sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, took the castle of Derry, and put garrisons into Newton and Ainogh; and having seized the monastery of Donegal near Ballishannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it against the assaults of O'Donnel and the Irish. Nor was Sir George Carew idle in the

---

[c] Camden, p. 643.

[d] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 414.

1601. province of Munster: he seized the titular Earl of Desmond, and sent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, prisoner to England; he arrested many suspected persons, and took hostages from others; and having gotten a reinforcement of two thousand men from England, he threw himself into Cork, which he supplied with arms and provisions; and he put every thing in a condition for resisting the Spanish invasion, which was daily expected. The deputy, informed of the danger to which the southern provinces were exposed, left the prosecution of the war against Tyrone, who was reduced to great extremities, and he marched with his army into Munster.

23d Sept. At last the Spaniards, under Don John d'Aquila, arrived at Kinsale; and Sir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a small garrison of a hundred and fifty men, found himself obliged to abandon it on their appearance. These invaders amounted to four thousand men, and the Irish discovered a strong propensity to join them, in order to free themselves from the English government, with which they were extremely discontented. One chief ground of their complaint was the introduction of trials by jury[e]; an institution abhorred by that people, though nothing contributes more to the support of that equity and liberty for which the English laws are so justly celebrated. The Irish also bore a great favour to the Spaniards, having entertained the opinion that they themselves were descended from that nation; and their attachment to the Catholic religion proved a new cause of affection to the invaders. D'Aquila assumed the title of general *in the holy war for the preservation of the faith* in Ireland; and he endeavoured to persuade the people, that Elizabeth was, by several bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Irish from the dominion of the devil[f]. Mountjoy found it necessary to act with vigour, in order to prevent a total insurrection of the Irish; and having collected his forces, he formed the siege of Kinsale by land, while Sir Richard Levison, with a small squadron, blockaded it by sea. He had no sooner begun his operations, than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thousand Spaniards, under the command of Alphonso Ocampo, who had taken possession of Baltimore and Berehaven, and he was obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppose their progress. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel, Baron of Kelly, and other chieftains of the Irish, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinsale. The deputy, informed of their design by intercepted letters, made preparations to receive them; and being reinforced by Levison with six hundred marines, he posted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the passage of the enemy, leaving some cavalry to prevent a sally from D'Aquila and the Spanish garrison. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Irish and Spaniards, approached, he was surprised to find the English so well posted, and ranged in good order, and he immediately sounded a retreat: but the deputy gave orders to pursue him; and having thrown these advanced troops into disorder, he followed them to the main body, whom he also attacked and put to flight, with the slaughter of twelve hundred men [g]. Ocampo was taken prisoner; Tyrone fled into Ulster; O'Donnel made his escape into Spain; and D'Aquila, finding himself reduced to the greatest difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon such terms as the deputy prescribed to him: he surrendered Kinsale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other successes gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into dismay, and gave a prospect of the final reduction of Ireland.

---

[e] Camden, p. 644.

[f] Ibid. p. 645.

The Irish war, though successful, was extremely burdensome on the queen's revenue; and besides the supplies granted by Parliament, which were indeed very small, but which they ever regarded as mighty concessions, she had been obliged, notwithstanding her great frugality, to employ other expedients, such as selling the royal demesnes and crown jewels [h], and exacting loans from the people [i], in order to support this cause, so essential to the honour and interests of England. The neces-

---

[g] Winwood, vol. i. p. 369.

[h] D'Ewes p. 629.

[i] Ibid.

1601. 27th Oct. A Parliament.

sity of her affairs obliged her again to summon a Parliament; and it here appeared, that though old age was advancing fast upon her, though she had lost much of her popularity by the unfortunate execution of Essex, insomuch that, when she appeared in public, she was not attended with the usual acclamations[k], yet the powers of her prerogative, supported by vigour, still remained as high and uncontrollable as ever.

The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to their services, had made use of an expedient which had been employed by her predecessor, but which had never been carried to such an extreme as under her administration. She granted her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts. It is astonishing to consider the number and importance of those commodities which were thus assigned over to patentees. Currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, fells, pouldavies, ox shin-bones, train oil, lists of cloth, potashes, aniseeds, vinegar, sea-coals, steel, aqua vitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, saltpetre, lead, accidence, oil, calamine-stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, transportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spanish wool, of Irish yarn: these are but a part of the commodities which had been appropriated to monopolists[l]. When this list was read in the House, a member cried, *Is not bread in the number? Bread!* said every one with astonishment. *Yes, I assure you*, replied he, *if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next Parliament*[m]. These monopolists were so exorbitant in their demands, that in some places they raised the price of salt from sixteen pence a bushel to fourteen or fifteen shillings[n]. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their com-

---

[k] D'Ewes, p. 602. Osborne, p. 604.

[l] D'Ewes, p. 648. 650. 652.

[m] Ibid. p. 648.

[n] Ibid. p. 647.

1601.

merce; and, in order to secure themselves against encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppress the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent[o]. The patentees of saltpetre having the power of entering into every house, and of committing what havoc they pleased in stables, cellars, or wherever they suspected saltpetre might be gathered, commonly extorted money from those who desired to free themselves from this damage or trouble[p]. And while all domestic intercourse was thus restrained, lest any scope should remain for industry, almost every species of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at any price that they themselves thought proper to offer or exact.

These grievances, the most intolerable for the present, and the most pernicious in their consequences that ever were known in any age, or under any government, had been mentioned in the last Parliament, and a petition had even been presented to the queen, complaining of her patents; but she still persisted in defending her monopolists against her people. A bill was now introduced into the Lower House, abolishing all these monopolies; and as the former application had been unsuccessful, a law was insisted on as the only certain expedient for correcting these abuses. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the Commons could never hope for success if they did not make application, in the most humble and respectful manner, to the queen's goodness and beneficence. The topics which were advanced in the House, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were admitted by both, will appear the most extraordinary to such as are prepossessed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty possessed under the administration of Elizabeth. It was asserted, that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a restraining power; by her prerogative she might set at liberty what was restrained by statute or otherwise, and

---

[o] D'Ewes, p. 644. 646. 652.

[p] Ibid. p. 653.

1601.

by her prerogative she might restrain what was otherwise at liberty[q]: that the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined[r], and did not even admit of any limitation[s]: that absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity[t]: that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes, since by means of her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure[u]; and that even if a clause should be annexed to a statute, excluding her dispensing power, she could first dispense with that clause, and then with the statute[w]. After all this discourse, more worthy of a Turkish divan than of an English House of Commons, according to our present idea of this assembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to arise, sent for the speaker, and desired him to acquaint the House that she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of these patents[x].

The House was struck with astonishment, and admiration, and gratitude, at this extraordinary instance of the queen's goodness and condescension. A member said, with tears in his eyes, that if a sentence of everlasting happiness had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at present overwhelmed[y]; another observed, that this message from the sacred person of the queen was a kind of gospel or glad tidings, and ought to be received as such, and be written in the tablets of their hearts[z]; and it was farther remarked, that in the same manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another, so the queen herself was the only agent in their present prosperity and happiness[a]. The House voted that the speaker, with a committee, should ask permission to wait on her majesty, and return thanks to her for her gracious concessions to her people.

When the speaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all flung themselves on their knees, and remained in that posture a considerable time, till she thought proper to express her desire that they should rise[b]. The speaker displayed the gratitude of the Commons, because her sacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her blessed hands ever stretched out to relieve them. They acknowledged, he said, in all duty and thankfulness acknowledged, that, before they called, her *preventing grace* and *all deserving goodness* watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could desire, much less deserve. He remarked, that the attribute which was most proper to God, to perform all he promiseth, appertained also to her; and that she was all truth, all constancy, and all goodness. And he concluded with these expressions: "Neither do we present our thanks in words, or any outward sign, which can be no sufficient retribution for so great goodness; but in all duty and thankfulness, prostrate at your feet, we present our most loyal and thankful hearts, even the last drop of blood in our hearts, and the last spirit of breath in our nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your safety[c]." The queen heard very patiently this speech, in which she was flattered in phrases appropriated to the Supreme Being; and she returned an answer full of such expressions of tenderness towards her people, as ought to have appeared fulsome, after the late instances of rigour which she had employed, and from which nothing but necessity had made her depart. Thus was this critical affair happily terminated; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding in time from part of her prerogative, maintained her dignity, and preserved the affections of her people.

---

[q] D'Ewes, p. 644. 675.

[r] Ibid. p. 644. 649.

[s] Ibid. p. 646. 654.

[t] Ibid. p. 649.

[u] Ibid.

[w] Ibid. p. 640. 646.

[x] See note [T], at the end of the volume.

[y] D'Ewes, p. 654.

[z] Ibid. p. 656.

[a] Ibid. p. 657.

The Commons granted her a supply quite unprecedented, of four subsidies and eight fifteenths; and they were so dutiful as to vote this supply before they received any satisfaction in the business of monopolies, which they justly considered as of the utmost importance to the interest and happiness of the nation. Had

---

[b] We learn from Hentzner's Travels, that no one spoke to Queen Elizabeth without kneeling, though now and then she raised some with waving her hand. Nay, wherever she turned her eye, every one fell on his knees. Her successor first allowed his courtiers to omit this ceremony; and as he exerted not the power, so he relinquished the appearance of despotism. Even when Queen Elizabeth was absent, those who covered her table, though persons of quality, neither approached it nor retired from it without kneeling, and that often three times.

[c] D'Ewes, p. 658, 659.

1601. they attempted to extort that concession, by keeping the supply in suspense, so haughty was the queen's disposition, that this appearance of constraint and jealousy had been sufficient to have produced a denial of all their requests, and to have forced her into some acts of authority still more violent and arbitrary.

1602. The remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in so much trouble, by fomenting and assisting the Irish rebellion, resolved to give them employment at home; and she fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under Sir Richard Levison, admiral, and Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, whom she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, met the galleons loaded with treasure, but was not strong enough to attack them; the vice-admiral also fell in with some rich ships, but they escaped for a like reason: and these two brave officers, that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitless, resolved to attack the harbour of Cerimbra, in Portugal, where they received intelligence a very rich carrack had taken shelter. The harbour was guarded by a castle; there were eleven galleys stationed in it; and the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore: yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk or burnt or put to flight the galleys, and obliged the carrack to surrender[d]. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of ducats[e]; a sensible loss to the Spaniards, and a supply still more important to Elizabeth[f].

The affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone and the expulsion of the Spaniards, hastened to a settlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into small parties, and harassed the rebels on every side. He built Charlemont, and many other small forts, which were impregnable to

---

[d] Monson, p. 181.

[e] Camden, p. 647.

[f] This year the Spaniards began the siege of Ostend, which was bravely defended for five months by Sir Francis Vere. The states then relieved him, by sending a new governor; and on the whole the siege lasted three years, and is computed to have cost the lives of a hundred thousand men.

1602. the Irish, and guarded all the important passes of the country: the activity of Sir Henry Docwray and Sir Arthur Chichester permitted no repose or security to the rebels: and many of the chieftains, after skulking, during some time, in woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to impose upon them. 1603. Tyrone himself made application, by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him, except he made an absolute surrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. **Tyrone's submission.** He appeared before the deputy at Millefont, in a habit and posture suitable to his present fortune; and, after acknowledging his offence in the most humble terms, he was committed to custody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure.

Queen's sickness, But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event; she had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable in any degree to alleviate or assuage. Some ascribed this depression of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom she had always resolved to bring to condign punishment for his treasons, but who had made such interest with the ministers, as to extort a remission from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection by a discovery which she had made of the correspondence maintained in her court with her successor, the King of Scots, and by the neglect to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, she imagined herself to be exposed. But there is another cause assigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by historians as romantic, but which late discoveries seem to have confirmed [g]: some incidents happened which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the deepest sorrow for the consent which she had unwarily given to his execution.

The Earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the

---

[g] See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's Negotiations, p. 206. And Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481. 505, 506, &c.

CHAP. XLIV. 1603.

queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices which his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet if he sent her that ring, she would immediately upon the sight of it recall her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the Countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The Countess of Nottingham falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and, having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her, *That God might pardon her, but she never could*, she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She rejected all consolation; she even refused food and sustenance; and, throwing herself on the floor, she remained sullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and existence an insufferable burden to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to reveal; but sighs and groans were the

1603.

chief vent which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her; and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies which they prescribed to her[h]. Her anxious mind, at last, had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be, but her nearest kinsman, the King of Scots? Being then advised by the Archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired gently, without farther struggle or convulsion, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

and death, 24th Mar.

and character.

So dark a cloud overcast the evening of that day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than Queen Elizabeth; and yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animosities, produced a uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been

---

[h] Strype, vol. iv. No. 276.

1603.

surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne: a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess: her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities; the rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over her people; and while she merited all their esteeem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances, and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people, by her superior prudence, from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations: and though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able by her vigour to make deep impressions on their states: her own greatness meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired.

The wise ministers and brave warriors who flourished under her reign share the praise of her success, but, instead of lessening the applause due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed all of them their advancement to her choice; they were supported by her constancy; and with all their abilities they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress: the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat which her victory visibly cost her serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

1603.

The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit is to lay aside all these considerations, and consider her merely as a rational being placed in authority, and entrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

APPENDIX III.

Government of England.—Revenues.—Commerce.—Military Force.—Manufactures.—Learning.

Appendix III.

Government of England.

The party among us who have distinguished themselves by their adhering to liberty and a popular government have long indulged their prejudices against the succeeding race of princes, by bestowing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wisdom of Elizabeth. They have even been so extremely ignorant of the transactions of this reign, as to extol her for a quality, which, of all others, she was the least possessed of; a tender regard for the constitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But as it is scarcely possible for the prepossessions of party to throw a veil much longer over facts so palpable and undeniable, there is danger lest the public should run into the opposite extreme, and should entertain an aversion to the memory of a princess who exercised the royal authority in a manner so contrary to all the ideas which we at present entertain of a legal constitution. But Elizabeth only supported the prerogatives transmitted to her by her predecessors: she believed that her subjects were entitled to no more liberty than their ancestors had enjoyed; she found that they entirely acquiesced in her arbitrary administration; and it was not natural for her to find fault with a form of government by which she herself was invested with such unlimited authority. In the particular exertions of power, the question ought never to be forgotten, *What is best?* But in the general distribution of power among the several members of a constitution there can seldom be admitted any other question than, *What is established?* Few examples occur of princes who have willingly resigned their power; none of those who have, without struggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than established practice be followed, factions and dissensions must multiply without end: and though many constitutions, and none more than the British, have been improved even by violent innovations, the praise bestowed on those patriots to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges ought to be given with some reserve, and surely without the least rancour against those who adhered to the ancient constitution[a].

In order to understand the ancient constitution of England, there is not a period which deserves more to be studied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princess were scarcely ever disputed, and she therefore employed them without scruple: her imperious temper, a circumstance in which she went far beyond her successors, rendered her exertions of power violent and frequent, and discovered the full extent of her authority: the great popularity which she enjoyed proves that she did not infringe any *established* liberties of the people: there remains evidence sufficient to ascertain the most noted acts of her administration; and though that evidence must be drawn from a source wide of the ordinary historians, it becomes only the more authentic on that account, and serves as a stronger proof that her particular exertions of power were conceived to be nothing but the ordinary course of administration, since they were not thought remarkable enough to be recorded even by contemporary writers. If there was any difference in this particular, the people in former reigns seem rather to have been more submissive than even during the age of Elizabeth[b]. It may not here be improper to recount some of the ancient prerogatives of

---

[a] By the ancient constitution is here meant that which prevailed before the settlement of our present plan of liberty. There was a more ancient constitution, where, though the people had perhaps less liberty than under the Tudors, yet the king had also less authority; the power of the barons was a great check upon him, and exercised with great tyranny over them. But there was a still more ancient constitution, viz. that before the signing of the charters, when neither the people nor the barons had any regular privileges; and the power of the government, during the reign of an able prince, was almost wholly in the king. The English constitution, like all others, has been in a state of continual fluctuation.

[b] In a memorial of the state of the realm, drawn by secretary Cecil, in 1569, there is this passage: "Then followeth the decay of obedience in civil policy, which being compared with the fearfulness and reverence of all inferior estates to their superiors in times past, will astonish any wise and considerate person, to behold the desperation of reformation." Haynes, p. 586. Again, p. 588.

Appendix III.

the crown, and lay open the sources of that great power which the English monarchs formerly enjoyed.

One of the most ancient and most established instruments of power was the court of star-chamber, which possessed an unlimited discretionary authority of fining, imprisoning, and inflicting corporal punishment, and whose jurisdiction extended to all sorts of offences, contempts, and disorders that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court consisted of the privy council and the judges, men who all of them enjoyed their offices during pleasure; and when the prince himself was present, he was the sole judge, and all the others could only interpose with their advice. There needed but this one court in any government to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty; for who durst set himself in opposition to the crown and ministry, or aspire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while exposed to so arbitrary a jurisdiction? I much question whether any of the absolute monarchies in Europe contain at present so illegal and despotic a tribunal.

The court of high commission was another jurisdiction still more terrible; both because the crime of heresy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and because its methods of inquisition, and of administering oaths, were more contrary to all the most simple ideas of justice and equity. The fines and imprisonments imposed by this court were frequent: the deprivations and suspensions of the clergy for nonconformity were also numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the ecclesiastics of England[c]. The queen, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, said expressly, that she was resolved, "that no man should be suffered to decline, either on the left, or on the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions[d]."

But martial law went beyond even these two courts in a prompt, and arbitrary, and violent method of decision. Whenever there was any insurrection or public disorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exercised not only over the soldiers, but over the whole people: any one might be punished as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provost-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleased to suspect. Lord Bacon says, that the trial at common law, granted to the Earl of Essex and his fellow-conspirators, was a favour; for that the case would have borne and required the severity of martial law[e]. We have seen instances of its being employed by Queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of Queen Elizabeth's to the Earl of Sussex, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which she sharply reproves him because she had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law[f]; though it is probable that near eight hundred persons suffered, one way or other, on account of that slight insurrection. But the Kings of England did not always limit the exercise of this law to times of civil war and disorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion or insurrection, King Edward granted a commission of martial law, and empowered the commissioners to execute it, *as should be thought by their discretions most necessary*[g]. Queen Elizabeth too was not sparing in the use of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a puritan, being persuaded that it was meritorious to kill such as opposed the truth of the gospel, ran into the streets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous sea captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was so incensed, that she ordered him to be punished instantly by martial law; but upon the remonstrance of some prudent counsellors, who told her that this law was usually confined to turbulent times, she recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law[h]. But she continued not always so reserved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of hers, in which she orders martial law to be used against all such as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets, from abroad[i]; and prohibits the questioning of the lieutenants, or their deputies, for their arbitrary punishment

---

[c] Neal, vol. i. p. 479.

[d] Murden, p. 183.

---

[e] Vol. iv. p. 510.

[f] MS. of Lord Royston's, from the Paper Office.

[g] Strype's Eccles. Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 373. 458, 459.

[h] Camden, p. 446. Strype, vol. ii. p. 288.

[i] Strype, vol. iii. p. 570.

Appendix III.

of such offenders, *any law or statute to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.* We have another act of hers still more extraordinary. The streets of London were much infested with idle vagabonds and riotous persons. The lord mayor had endeavoured to repress this disorder: the star-chamber had exerted its authority and inflicted punishment on these rioters: but the queen, finding those remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commission of provost-martial; "granting him authority, and commanding him, upon signification given by the justices of peace in London or the neighbouring counties, of such offenders worthy to be speedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the same persons, and in the presence of the said justices, according to justice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to such place where the said rebellious and incorrigible offenders shall be found to have committed the said great offences [k]." I suppose it would be difficult to produce an instance of such an act of authority in any place nearer than Muscovy. The patent of high constable, granted to Earl Rivers by Edward IV., proves the nature of the office. The powers are unlimited, perpetual, and remain in force, during peace as well as during war and rebellion. The Parliament in Edward VIth's reign acknowledged the jurisdiction of the constable and martial's court to be part of the law of the land [l].

The star-chamber, and high commission, and court-martial, though arbitrary jurisdictions, had still some pretence of a trial, at least of a sentence; but there was a grievous punishment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a secretary of state, or of the privy council [m]; and that was imprisonment in any jail, and during any time that the ministers should think proper. In suspicious times, all the jails were full of prisoners of state; and these unhappy victims of public jealousy were sometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the most cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

---

[k] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 279.

[l] 7 Edw. VI. cap. 20. See Sir John Davis's Question concerning Impositions, p. 9.

[m] In 1588, the lord mayor committed several citizens to prison, because they refused to pay the loan demanded of them. Murden, p. 632.

This practice was an indirect way of employing torture: but the rack itself, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of justice[n], was frequently used, upon any suspicion, by authority of a warrant from a secretary, or the privy council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture whenever they thought proper[o]. There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed than the following story told by Lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words: "The queen was mightily incensed against Haywarde, on account of a book he dedicated to Lord Essex, being a story of the first year of Henry IV.; thinking it a seditious prelude, to put into the people's heads boldness and faction[p]: she said, she had an opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it, that might be drawn within the case of treason? Whereto I answered, For treason, sure I found none; but for felony very many. And when her majesty hastily asked me, Wherein? I told her, the author had committed very apparent theft: for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. And another time, when the queen could not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author, and said, with great indignation, that she would have him racked, to produce his author; I replied, Nay, madam, he is a doctor; never rack his person, but rack his style: let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author or no[q]." Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack for a most innocent performance. His

---

[n] Harrison, book ii. chap. 11.

[o] Haynes, p. 196. See, farther, la Boderie, vol. i. p. 211.

[p] To our apprehension Haywarde's book seems rather to have a contrary tendency. For he has there preserved the famous speech of the Bishop of Carlisle, which contains, in the most express terms, the doctrine of passive obedience. But Queen Elizabeth was very difficult to please on this head.

[q] Cabala, p. 81.

Appendix III.

real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the learned, the Earl of Essex, at a time when this nobleman lay under her majesty's displeasure.

The queen's menace, of trying and punishing Haywarde for treason, could easily have been executed, let his book have been ever so innocent. While so many terrors hung over the people, no jury durst have acquitted a man, when the court was resolved to have him condemned. The practice, also, of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage against him. And, indeed, there scarcely occurs an instance, during all these reigns, that the sovereign or the ministers were ever disappointed in the issue of a prosecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleasure, never failed to second all the views of the crown. And as the practice was anciently common, of fining, imprisoning, or otherwise punishing the jurors, merely at the discretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of these dependent judges; it is obvious that juries were then no manner of security to the liberty of the subject.

The power of pressing both for sea and land service, and obliging any person to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Osborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative. "In case she found any likely to interrupt her occasions," says he, "she did seasonably prevent him, by a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him upon some service at home, which she knew least grateful to the people: contrary to a false maxim, since practised with far worse success, by such princes as thought it better husbandry to buy off enemies than reward friends[r]." The practice with which Osborne reproaches the two immediate successors of Elizabeth, proceeded partly from the extreme difficulty of their situation, partly from the greater lenity of their disposition. The power of pressing, as may naturally be imagined, was often abused, in other respects, by men of inferior rank; and officers often exacted money for freeing persons from the service[s].

The government of England, during that age, however different in other particulars, bore, in this respect, some resemblance to that of Turkey at present: the sovereign possessed every power, except that of imposing taxes: and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the sultan to permit the extortion of the bashaws and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards squeezes presents, or takes forfeitures: in England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade: an invention so pernicious, that had she gone on during a track of years at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco, or the coast of Barbary.

---

[r] Page 392.

[s] Murden, p. 181.

We may farther observe, that this valuable privilege, valuable only because it proved afterwards the means by which the Parliament extorted all their other privileges, was very much encroached on, in an indirect manner, during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as of her predecessors. She often exacted loans from her people; an arbitrary and unequal kind of imposition, and which individuals felt severely: for though the money had been regularly repaid, which was seldom the case[t], it lay in the prince's hands without interest, which was a sensible loss to the persons from whom the money was borrowed[u].

There remains a proposal, made by Lord Burleigh, for levying a general loan on the people, equivalent to a subsidy[w]; a scheme which would have laid the burden more equally, but which was, in different words, a taxation imposed without consent of Parliament. It is remarkable, that the scheme thus proposed, without any visible necessity, by that wise minister, is the very same which Henry VIII. executed, and which Charles I., enraged by ill usage from his Parliament, and reduced to the greatest difficulties, put afterwards in practice, to the great discontent of the nation.

---

[t] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362.

[u] In the second of Richard II. it was enacted that in loans, which the king shall require of his subjects upon letters of privy seal, such as have *reasonable* excuse of not lending may there be received without farther summons, travail, or grief. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 170. By this law, the king's prerogative of exacting loans was ratified; and what ought to be deemed a *reasonable* excuse was still left in his own breast to determine.

[w] Haynes, p. 518, 519.

Appendix III.

The demand of benevolence was another invention of that age for taxing the people. This practice was so little conceived to be irregular, that the Commons, in 1585, offered the queen a benevolence; which she very generously refused, as having no occasion at that time for money [x]. Queen Mary also, by an order of council, increased the customs in some branches; and her sister imitated the example [y]. There was a species of ship-money imposed at the time of the Spanish invasion: the several ports were required to equip a certain number of vessels at their own charge; and such was the alacrity of the people for the public defence, that some of the ports, particularly London, sent double the number demanded of them [z]. When any levies were made for Ireland, France, or the Low Countries, the queen obliged the counties to levy the soldiers, to arm and clothe them, and carry them to the seaports at their own charge. New years' gifts were at that time expected from the nobility, and from the more considerable gentry [a].

Purveyance and pre-emption were also methods of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppressive. The whole kingdom sensibly felt the burden of those impositions; and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of these universities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative during the first years of her reign [b].

Wardship was the most regular and legal of all these impositions by prerogative; yet was it a great badge of slavery, and oppressive to all the considerable families. When an estate devolved to a female, the sovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleased: whether the heir were male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profit of the estate during the minority. The giving of a rich wardship was a usual method of rewarding a courtier or favourite.

The inventions were endless which arbitrary power might employ for the extorting of money, while the people imagined that their property was secured by the crown's being debarred from imposing taxes. Strype has preserved a speech of Lord Burleigh to the queen and council, in which are contained some particulars not a little extraordinary[c]. Burleigh proposes that she should erect a court for the correction of all abuses, and should confer on the commissioners a general inquisitorial power over the whole kingdom. He sets before her the example of her wise grandfather, Henry VII., who by such methods extremely augmented his revenue; and he recommends that this new court should proceed "as well by the direction and ordinary course of the laws, as by virtue of her majesty's supreme regiment and *absolute power, from whence law proceeded.*" In a word, he expects from this institution greater accession to the royal treasure than Henry VIII. derived from the abolition of the abbeys, and all the forfeitures of ecclesiastical revenues. This project of Lord Burleigh's needs not, I think, any comment. A form of government must be very arbitrary indeed where a wise and good minister could make such a proposal to the sovereign.

---

[x] D'Ewes, p. 494.

[y] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362.

[z] Monson, p. 267.

[a] Strype's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 137.

[b] Camden, p. 388.

Embargoes on merchandize was another engine of royal power by which the English princes were able to extort money from the people. We have seen instances in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, issued an order to the custom-house, prohibiting the sale of all crimson silks which should be imported, till the court were first supplied[d]. She expected, no doubt, a good pennyworth from the merchants while they lay under this restraint.

The Parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting subsidies; but this privilege was, during that age, still more insignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expressly prohibited them from meddling either with state matters or ecclesiastical causes; and she openly sent the members to prison who dared to transgress her imperial edict in these particulars. There passed few sessions of Parliament during her reign where there occur not instances of this arbitrary conduct.

But the legislative power of the Parliament was a mere fallacy; while the sovereign was universally acknowledged to possess a dispensing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated and rendered of no effect.

---

[c] Annals, vol. iv. p. 234, et seq.

[d] Strype, vol. i. p. 27.

Appendix III.

The exercise of this power was also an indirect method practised for erecting monopolies. Where the statutes laid any branch of manufacture under restrictions, the sovereign, by exempting one person from the laws, gave him in effect the monopoly of that commodity[e]. There was no grievance at that time more universally complained of than the frequent dispensing with the penal laws[f].

But in reality the crown possessed the full legislative power by means of proclamations, which might affect any matter, even of the greatest importance, and which the star-chamber took care to see more rigorously executed than the laws themselves. The motives for these proclamations were sometimes frivolous and even ridiculous. Queen Elizabeth had taken offence at the smell of woad, and she issued an edict prohibiting any one from cultivating that useful plant[g]. She was also pleased to take offence at the long swords and high ruffs then in fashion; she sent about her officers to break every man's sword and clip every man's ruff which was beyond a certain dimension[h]. This practice resembles the method employed by the great Czar Peter to make his subjects change their garb.

The queen's prohibition of the *prophesyings*, or the assemblies instituted for fanatical prayers and conferences, was founded on a better reason, but shows still the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Any number of persons could not meet together in order to read the scriptures and confer about religion, though in ever so orthodox a manner, without her permission.

There were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty. None of the nobility could marry without permission from the sovereign. The queen detained the Earl of Southampton long in prison because he privately married the Earl of Essex's cousin[i]. No man could travel without the consent of the prince. Sir William Evers underwent a severe persecution because he had presumed to pay a private visit to the King of Scots[k]. The sovereign even assumed a supreme and uncontrolled authority over all foreign trade; and neither allowed any person to enter or depart the kingdom, nor any commodity to be imported or exported, without his consent[l].

---

[e] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 756. D'Ewes, p. 645.

[f] Murden, p. 325.

[g] Townsend's Journals, p. 250. Stowe's Annals.

[h] Townsend's Journals, p. 250. Stowe's Annals. Strype, vol. ii. p. 603.

[i] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 422.

[k] Ibid. p. 511.

The Parliament, in the thirteenth of the queen, praised her for not imitating the practice usual among her predecessors, of stopping the course of justice by particular warrants[m]. There could not possibly be a greater abuse, nor a stronger mark of arbitrary power, and the queen in refraining from it was very laudable. But she was by no means constant in this reserve. There remain in the public records some warrants of hers for exempting particular persons from all lawsuits and prosecutions[n]; and these warrants, she says, she grants from her royal prerogative, which she will not allow to be disputed.

It was very usual in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy-counsellors to commit to prison any one who had happened to displease them by suing for his just debts; and the unhappy person, though he gained his cause in the courts of justice, was commonly obliged to relinquish his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some likewise, who had been delivered from prison by the judges, were again committed to custody in secret places, without any possibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and serjeants of the courts of law were punished for executing the writs in favour of these persons. Nay, it was usual to send for people by pursuivants, a kind of harpies, who then attended the orders of the council and high commission; and they were brought up to London, and constrained by imprisonment, not only to withdraw their lawful suits, but also to pay the pursuivants great sums of money. The judges, in the thirty-fourth of the queen, complain to her majesty of the frequency of this practice. It is probable that so egregious a tyranny was carried no farther down than the reign of Elizabeth, since the Parliament, who presented the petition of right, found no later instances of it[o]. And even these very judges of Elizabeth, who thus protect the people against the tyranny of the great, expressly allow that a person committed by special command of the queen is not bailable.

---

[l] Sir John Davis's Question concerning Impositions, passim.

[m] D'Ewes, p. 141.

[n] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 652. 708. 777.

[o] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 511. Franklyn's Annals, p. 250, 251.

Appendix III.

It is easy to imagine that in such a government no justice could by course of law be obtained of the sovereign, unless he were willing to allow it. In the naval expedition undertaken by Raleigh and Frobisher against the Spaniards in the year 1592, a very rich carrack was taken, worth two hundred thousand pounds. The queen's share in the adventure was only a tenth, but as the prize was so great, and exceeded so much the expectation of all the adventurers, she was determined not to rest contented with her share. Raleigh humbly and earnestly begged her to accept of a hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all demands, or rather extortions; and says, that the present which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thousand pounds, was the greatest that prince ever received from a subject[p].

But it is no wonder the queen in her administration should pay so little regard to liberty, while the Parliament itself in enacting laws was entirely negligent of it. The persecuting statutes which they passed against papists and puritans are extremely contrary to the genius of freedom; and, by exposing such multitudes to the tyranny of priests and bigots, accustomed the people to the most disgraceful subjection. Their conferring an unlimited supremacy on the queen, or, what is worse, acknowledging her inherent right to it, was another proof of their voluntary servitude.

The law of the twenty-third of her reign, making seditious words against the queen capital, is also a very tyrannical statute, and a use no less tyrannical was sometimes made of it. The case of Udal, a puritanical clergyman, seems singular even in those arbitrary times. This man had published a book called a Demonstration of Discipline, in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended that the bishops were part of the queen's political body, and to speak against them was really to attack her, and was therefore felony by the statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any

[p] Strype, vol. iv. p. 128, 129.

Appendix III.

thing but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a single witness to the court: they only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said, that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had said so. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence, which they said was never to be permitted against the crown[q]. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depose that he was not the author of the book; and his refusal to make that deposition was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It is almost needless to add, that notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udal; for, as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape[r]. He died in prison before execution of the sentence.

The case of Penry was, if possible, still harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Brownist, a small sect, which afterwards increased, and received the name of Independents. He had written against the hierarchy several tracts, such as Martin Marprelate, *Theses Martinianæ*, and other compositions, full of low scurrility and petulant satire. After concealing himself for some years, he was seized; and as the statute against seditious words required that the criminal should be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried for some papers found in his pocket, as if he had thereby scattered sedition[s]. It was also imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that in some of these papers "he had only acknowledged her majesty's royal power to *establish* laws ecclesiastical and civil, but had avoided the *usual* terms of *making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining laws:* which imply," says the lord keeper, "a most absolute authority[t]." Penry, for these offences, was condemned and executed.

---

[q] It was never fully established that the prisoner could legally produce evidence against the crown till after the Revolution. See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 352.

[r] State Trials, vol. i. p. 144. Strype, vol. iv. p. 21. Id. Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

[s] Strype's Life of Whitgift, book 4. chap. 11. Neal, vol. i. p. 564.

[t] Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 177.

Appendix III.

Thus we have seen that the *most absolute* authority of the sovereign, to make use of the lord keeper's expression, was established on above twenty branches of prerogative, which are now abolished, and which were, every one of them, totally incompatible with the liberty of the subject. But what ensured more effectually the slavery of the people than even these branches of prerogative was, the established principles of the times, which attributed to the prince such an unlimited and indefeasible power as was supposed to be the origin of all law, and could be circumscribed by none. The homilies published for the use of the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculcate everywhere a blind and unlimited passive obedience to the prince, which, on no account, and under no pretence, it is ever lawful for subjects in the smallest article to depart from or infringe. Much noise has been made because some court chaplains during the succeeding reigns were permitted to preach such doctrines; but there is a great difference between these sermons, and discourses published by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation [u]. So thoroughly were these principles imbibed by the people, during the reigns of Elizabeth and her predecessors, that opposition to them was regarded as the most flagrant sedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praise and approbation which can alone support men under such dangers and difficulties as attend the resistance of tyrannical authority [w]. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and spreading themselves under the shelter of puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people.

It is worth remarking, that the advantage usually ascribed to absolute monarchy, a greater regularity of

---

[u] Gifford, a clergyman, was suspended, in the year 1584, for preaching up a limited obedience to the civil magistrate. Neal, vol. i. p. 435.

[w] It is remarkable, that in all the historical plays of Shakspeare, where the manners and characters, and even the transactions of the several reigns, are so exactly copied, there is scarcely any mention of *civil liberty;* which some pretended historians have imagined to be the object of all the ancient quarrels, insurrections, and civil wars. In the elaborate panegyric of England contained in the tragedy of Richard II., and the detail of its advantages, not a word of its civil constitution, as anywise different from, or superior to, that of other European kingdoms: an omission which cannot be supposed in any English author that wrote since the Restoration, at least since the Revolution.

Appendix III.

police, and a more strict execution of the laws, did not attend the former English government, though in many respects it fell under that denomination. A demonstration of this truth is contained in a judicious paper which is preserved by Strype[x], and which was written by an eminent justice of peace of Somersetshire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen's reign; when the authority of that princess may be supposed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice. This paper contains an account of the disorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerset. The author says, that forty persons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty-seven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three discharged: that those who were discharged were most wicked and desperate persons, who would never come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service: that, notwithstanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people: that the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to keep a perpetual watch over their sheepfolds, their pastures, their woods, and their corn-fields: that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire, and many of them were even in a worse: that there were at least three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county who lived by theft and rapine, and who sometimes met in troops to the number of sixty, and committed spoil on the inhabitants: that if all the felons of this kind were assembled, they would be able, if reduced to good subjection, to give the greatest enemy her majesty has a *strong battle:* and that the magistrates themselves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were instances of justices of peace, who, after giving sentence against rogues, had

---

[x] Annals, vol. iv. p. 290.

Appendix III.

interposed to stop the execution of their own sentence, on account of the danger which hung over them from the confederates of the felons.

In the year 1575, the queen complained in Parliament of the bad execution of the laws; and threatened, that if the magistrates were not for the future more vigilant, she would entrust authority to indigent and needy persons, who would find an interest in a more exact administration of justice[y]. It appears that she was as good as her word; for in the year 1601, there were great complaints made in Parliament of the rapine of justices of peace; and a member said that this magistrate was an animal, who, for half a dozen of chickens, would dispense with a dozen of penal statutes[z]. It is not easy to account for this relaxation of government and neglect of police during a reign of so much vigour as that of Elizabeth. The small revenue of the crown is the most likely cause that can be assigned. The queen had it not in her power to interest a great number in assisting her to execute the laws[a].

On the whole, the English have no reason, from the example of their ancestors, to be in love with the picture of absolute monarchy; or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince, and his unbounded prerogatives, to that noble liberty, that sweet equality, and that happy security, by which they are at present distinguished above all nations in the universe. The utmost that can be said in favour of the government of that age (and perhaps it may be said with truth) is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exercised after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the administration; that the instances of a high exerted prerogative were not so frequent as to render property sensibly insecure, or reduce the people to a total servitude; that the freedom from faction, the quickness of execution, and the promptitude of those measures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made some compensation for the want of a legal and determinate liberty; that as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him which maintained the government in that medium to which the people had been accustomed; and that this situation of England, though seemingly it approached nearer, was in reality more remote from a despotic and eastern monarchy than the present government of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defenceless, and disarmed; and besides are not secured by any middle power, or independent powerful nobility interposed between them and the monarch.

---

[y] D'Ewes, p. 234.

[z] Ibid. p. 661—664.

[a] See note [U], at the end of the volume.

We shall close the present appendix with a brief account of the revenues, the military force, the commerce, the arts, and the learning of England during this period.

Revenues.

Queen Elizabeth's economy was remarkable, and in some instances seemed to border on avarice. The smallest expense, if it could possibly be spared, appeared considerable in her eyes; and even the charge of an express during the most delicate transactions was not below her notice[b]. She was also attentive to every profit, and embraced opportunities of gain which may appear somewhat extraordinary. She kept, for instance, the see of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue[c]; and it was usual with her, when she promoted a bishop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the see of some of its manors[d]. But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper appears from this circumstance, that she never amassed any treasure, and even refused subsidies from the Parliament when she had no present occasion for them. Yet we must not conclude, from this circumstance, that her economy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: she loaded them with monopolies and exclusive patents, which are much more oppressive than the most heavy taxes levied in an equal and regular manner. The real source of her frugal conduct was derived from

---

[b] Birch's Negot. p. 21.

[c] Strype, vol. iv. p. 351.

[d] Ibid. p. 215. There is a curious letter of the queen's written to a bishop of Ely, and preserved in the register of that see. It is in these words: "*Proud prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement; but I would have you know, that I, who made you what you are, can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God, I will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself,* ELIZABETH."—The bishop, it seems, had promised to exchange some part of the land belonging to the see for a pretended equivalent, and did so; but it was in consequence of the above letter. Annual Register, 1761, p. 15.

Appendix III.

her desire of independency, and her care to preserve her dignity, which would have been endangered had she reduced herself to the necessity of having frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies. In consequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in successful and necessary wars, thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demesnes [e], than demand the most moderate supplies from the Commons. As she lived unmarried, and had no posterity, she was content to serve her present turn, though at the expense of her successors; who, by reason of this policy, joined to other circumstances, found themselves, on a sudden, reduced to the most extreme indigence.

The splendour of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence except clothes, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age [f]. The states, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds; and the King of France, four hundred and fifty thousand [g]. Though that prince was extremely frugal, and, after the peace of Vervins, was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums which she had so generously advanced him during his greatest distresses. One payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her [h]. The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, besides the pittance of a double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds granted her by Parliament[i]. In the year 1599, she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months, on the service of Ireland[k]. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in ten years Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds[l]. She gave the Earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds, upon his departure for the government of that kingdom[m]. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a sum which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her strong affection towards him! It was a common saying during this reign, *The queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly*[n].

---

[e] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 141. D'Ewes, p. 151. 457. 525. 629. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 363.

[f] D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it impossible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. p. 344, that in the year 1553, the crown owed but three hundred thousand pounds. I own that this last sum appears a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of Queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions.

[g] Winwood, vol. i. p. 29. 54.

[h] Ibid. p. 117. 395.

It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much short of five hundred thousand pounds a-year[o]. In the year 1590, she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a-year to fifty thousand, and obliged Sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund some of his former profits[p]. This improvement of the revenue was owing to the suggestions of one Caermarthen, and was opposed by Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham; but the queen's perseverance overcame all their opposition. The great undertakings which she executed with so narrow a revenue, and with such small supplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wisdom and economy. She received from the Parliament, during the course of her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. I pretend not to determine exactly the amount of these supplies, because the value of a subsidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thousand pounds[q]. If we suppose that the supplies granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years amounted to three millions, we shall not probably be much wide of the truth[r]. This sum makes only sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a-year; and it is surprising, that while the queen's demands were so moderate, and her expenses so well regulated, she should ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a supply from Parliament, or be reduced to make sale of the crown lands. But such was the extreme, I had almost said absurd, parsimony of the Parliaments during that period. They valued nothing in comparison of their money. The members had no connexion with the court; and the very idea which they conceived of the trust committed to them was, to reduce the demands of the crown, and to grant as few supplies as possible. The crown, on the other hand, conceived the Parliament in no other light than as a means of supply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of seldom summoning Parliaments[s]. No redress of grievances was expected from these assemblies: they were supposed to meet for no other purpose than to impose taxes.

---

[i] D'Ewes, p. 483.

[k] Camden, p. 167.

[l] Appendix to the Earl of Essex's Apology.

[m] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii.

[n] Naunton's Regalia, chap. i.

[o] Franklyn, in his Annals, p. 9, says, that the profit of the kingdom, besides wards and the duchy of Lancaster, (*which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds*,) was one hundred and eighty-eight thousand one hundred and ninety-seven pounds: the crown lands seem to be comprehended in this computation.

[p] Camden, p. 558. This account of Camden is difficult or impossible to be reconciled to the state of the customs in the beginning of the subsequent reign, as they appear in the Journals of the Commons. See Hist. of James, chap. 46.

[q] D'Ewes, p. 630.

Before the reign of Elizabeth, the English princes had usually recourse to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was so low, that besides paying the high interest of ten or twelve per cent., they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. Sir Thomas Gresham, that great and enterprising merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees established itself in the city, and she shook off this dependence on foreigners[t].

---

[r] Lord Salisbury computed these supplies only at two million eight hundred thousand pounds, Journ. 17 Feb. 1609. King James was certainly mistaken when he estimated the queen's annual supplies at one hundred and thirty-seven thousand pounds, Franklyn, p. 44. It is curious to observe, that the minister, in the war begun in 1754, was in some periods allowed to lavish, in two months, as great a sum as was granted by Parliament to Queen Elizabeth in forty-five years. The extreme frivolous object of the late war, and the great importance of hers, set this matter in still a stronger light. Money too, we may observe, was in most particulars of the same value in both periods: she paid eight-pence a-day to every foot-soldier. But our late delusions have much exceeded any thing known in history, not even excepting those of the crusades. For I suppose there is no mathematical, still less an arithmetical demonstration, that the road to the Holy Land was not the road to Paradise, as there is, that the endless increase of national debts is the direct road to national ruin. But having now completely reached that goal, it is needless, at present, to reflect on the past. It will be found in the present year, 1776, that all the revenues of this island north of Trent, and west of Reading, are mortgaged or anticipated for ever. Could the small remainder be in a worse condition, were those provinces seized by Austria and Prussia? There is only this difference, that some event might happen in Europe which would oblige these great monarchs to disgorge their acquisitions. But no imagination can figure a situation which will induce our creditors to relinquish their claims, or the public to seize their revenues. So egregious indeed has been our folly, that we have even lost all title to compassion in the numberless calamities that are awaiting us.

[s] Strype, vol. iv. p. 124.

In the year 1559, however, the queen employed Gresham to borrow for her two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debased[u]. She was so impolitic as to make, herself, an innovation in the coin, by dividing a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

Commerce.

Queen Elizabeth, sensible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was desirous to encourage commerce and navigation: but as her monopolies tended to extinguish all domestic industry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, the general train of her conduct was ill calculated to serve the purpose at which she aimed, much less to promote the riches of her people. The exclusive companies, also, were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet, notwithstanding these discouragements, the spirit of the age was strongly bent on naval enterprises: and besides the military expeditions against the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new discoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened by the English. Sir Martin Frobisher undertook three fruitless voyages, to discover the north-west passage: Davis, not discouraged by this ill success, made a new attempt, when he discovered the straits which pass by his name. In the year 1600, the queen granted the first patent to the East-India company: the stock of that company was seventy-two thousand pounds; and they fitted out four ships, under the command of James Lancaster, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was successful; and the ships returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

The communication with Muscovy had been opened

---

[t] Stowe's Survey of London, book i. p. 286.

[u] MS. of Lord Royston's from the Paper Office, p. 295.

Appendix III.

in Queen Mary's time, by the discovery of the passage to Archangel: but the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on to a great extent till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the czar an exclusive patent to the English for the whole trade of Muscovy[w]; and she entered into a personal as well as national alliance with him. This czar was named John Basilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually suspecting the revolt of his subjects, stipulated to have a safe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to ensure this resource, he purposed to marry an English woman; and the queen intended to have sent him Lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon: but when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, she wisely declined purchasing an empire at the expense of her ease and safety[x].

The English, encouraged by the privileges which they had obtained from Basilides, ventured farther into those countries than any Europeans had formerly done. They transported their goods along the river Dwina, in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the stream as far as Walogda. Thence they carried their commodities seven days' journey by land to Yeraslau, and then down the Volga to Astracan. At Astracan they built ships, crossed the Caspian Sea, and distributed their manufactures into Persia. But this bold attempt met with such discouragements, that it was never renewed[y].

After the death of John Basilides, his son Theodore revoked the patent which the English enjoyed for a monopoly of the Russian trade: when the queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers, that princes must carry an indifferent hand, as well between their subjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few[z]. So much juster notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned Queen Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued some privileges to the English, on account of their being the discoverers of the communication between Europe and his country.

---

[w] Camden, p. 408.

[x] Ibid. p. 493.

[y] Ibid. p. 418.

[z] Ibid. p. 493.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by Queen Elizabeth. Before that time the Grand Signior had always conceived England to be a dependent province of France[a]; but, having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

The merchants of the Hanse towns complained loudly, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, of the treatment which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied, that as she would not innovate any thing, she would still protect them in the immunities and privileges of which she found them possessed. This answer not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of the English merchants, who tried what they could themselves effect for promoting their commerce. They took the whole trade into their own hands; and, their returns proving successful, they divided themselves into staplers and merchant-adventurers; the former residing constantly at one place, the latter trying their fortunes in other towns and states abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This success so enraged the Hanse towns, that they tried all the methods which a discontented people could devise, to draw upon the English merchants the ill opinion of other nations and states. They prevailed so far as to obtain an imperial edict, by which the English were prohibited all commerce in the empire: the queen, by way of retaliation, retained sixty of their ships, which had been seized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as desiring to have compromised all differences with those trading cities; but when she was informed that a general assembly was held at Lubec, in order to concert measures for distressing the English trade, she caused the ships and cargoes to be confiscated: only two of them were released to carry home the news, and to inform these states that she had

---

[a] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 36.

Appendix III.

the greatest contempt imaginable for all their proceedings[b].

Henry VIII., in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ships from Hamburgh, Lubec, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice; but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing, both by building some ships of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which, on occasion, were converted into ships of war[c]. In the year 1582, the seamen in England were found to be fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five men[d]; the number of vessels twelve hundred and thirty-two, of which there were only two hundred and seventeen above eighty tons. Monson pretends, that though navigation decayed in the first years of James I. by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms[e], yet, before the year 1640, this number of seamen was tripled in England[f].

Military force.

The navy which the queen left at her decease appears considerable, when we reflect only on the number of vessels, which were forty-two: but when we consider that none of these ships carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ships of a thousand tons, and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty; and some even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was seven hundred and seventy-four[g]; we must entertain a contemptible idea of the English navy, compared to the force which it has now attained[h]. In the year 1588, there were not above five vessels fitted out by the noblemen and seaports which exceeded two hundred tons[i].

In the year 1599, an alarm was given of an invasion by the Spaniards, and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppose them. Nothing gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this sudden armament. In the year 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine[k]. A distribution was made, in the year 1595, of a hundred and forty thousand men, besides those which Wales could supply[l]. These armies were formidable by their numbers, but their discipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over and plundered the east coast; so unfit was the militia, as it was then constituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord lieutenants were first appointed to the counties in this reign.

---

[b] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 470.
[c] Camden, p. 388.
[d] Monson, p. 256.
[e] Ibid. p. 300.
[f] Ibid. p. 210. 256.
[g] Monson, p. 196. The English navy at present carries about fourteen thousand guns.
[h] See note [X], at the end of the volume.
[i] Monson, p. 300.

Mr. Murden[m] has published, from the Salisbury collections, a paper which contains the military force of the nation at the time of the Spanish Armada, and which is somewhat different from the account given by our ordinary historians. It makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to a hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and thirteen; those armed, to eighty thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; of whom forty-four thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven were trained. It must be supposed, that these able-bodied men consisted of such only as were registered, otherwise the small number is not to be accounted for. Yet Sir Edward Coke[n] said in the House of Commons, that he was employed about the same time, together with Popham, chief justice, to take a survey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be nine hundred thousand of all sorts. This number, by the ordinary rules of computation, supposes that there were above two hundred thousand men able to bear arms. Yet even this number is surprisingly small. Can we suppose that the kingdom is six or seven times more populous at present? and that Murden's was the real number of men, excluding Catholics, and children, and infirm persons?

Harrison says, that in the musters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for service amounted to one million one hundred and seventy-two thousand six hundred and seventy-four; yet it was believed that a full third was omitted: such uncertainty and contradiction are there in all these accounts. Notwithstanding the

---

[k] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 432.

[l] Strype, vol. iv. p. 221.

[m] P. 608.

[n] Journ. 25th April, 1621.

Appendix III.

greatness of this number, the same author complains much of the decay of populousness: a vulgar complaint in all places and all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions.

Whatever opinion we may form of the comparative populousness of England in different periods, it must be allowed that, abstracting from the national debt, there is a prodigious increase of power in that, more perhaps than in any other European state since the beginning of the last century. It would be no paradox to affirm, that Ireland alone could, at present, exert a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of, at the death of Queen Elizabeth. And we might go farther, and assert, that one good county in England is able to make, at least to support, a greater effort than the whole kingdom was capable of, in the reign of Harry V.; when the maintenance of a garrison, in a small town like Calais, formed more than a third of the ordinary national expense. Such are the effects of liberty, industry, and good government!

The state of the English manufactures was, at this time, very low, and foreign wares of almost all kinds had the preference [o]. About the year 1590, there were, in London, four persons only rated in the subsidy-books so high as four hundred pounds [p]. This computation is not, indeed, to be deemed an exact estimate of their wealth. In 1567, there were found, on inquiry, to be four thousand eight hundred and fifty-one strangers of all nations in London; of whom three thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots [q]. The persecutions in France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a greater number of foreigners into England; and the commerce, as well as manufactures of that kingdom, was very much improved by them [r]. It was then that Sir Thomas Gresham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange for the reception of the merchants: the queen visited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

By a lucky accident in language, which has a great effect on men's ideas, the invidious word usury, which formerly meant the taking of any interest for money, came now to express only the taking of exorbitant and illegal interest. An act, passed in 1571, violently condemns all usury, but permits ten per cent. interest to be paid. Henry IV. of France reduced interest to six and a half per cent.: an indication of the great advance of France above England in commerce.

---

[o] D'Ewes, p. 505.

[p] Ibid. p. 497.

[q] Haynes, p. 461, 462.

[r] Stowe, p. 668.

Dr. Howel says[s], that Queen Elizabeth, in the third of her reign, was presented with a pair of black silk knit stockings by her silk-woman, and never wore cloth hose any more. The author of the present state of England says, that about 1577, pocket watches were first brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremburgh. About 1580, the use of coaches was introduced by the Earl of Arundel[t]. Before that time, the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain.

Camden says, that in 1581, Randolph, so much employed by the queen in foreign embassies, possessed the office of postmaster-general of England. It appears, therefore, that posts were then established; though, from Charles I.'s regulations in 1635, it would seem that few post-houses were erected before that time.

In a remonstrance of the Hanse towns to the diet of the empire in 1582, it is affirmed that England exported annually about two hundred thousand pieces of cloth[u]. This number seems to be much exaggerated.

In the fifth of this reign was enacted the first law for the relief of the poor.

A judicious author of that age confirms the vulgar observation, that the kingdom was depopulating from the increase of inclosures and decay of tillage; and he ascribes the reason very justly to the restraints put on the exportation of corn, while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of pasturage, such as wool, hides, leather, tallow, &c. These prohibitions of exportation were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious. The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good success. From the same author we learn, that the complaints, re-

---

[s] History of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.

[t] Anderson, vol. i. p. 421.

[u] Ibid. p. 424.

Appendix III.

newed in our time, were then very common, concerning the high prices of every thing [w]. There seems, indeed, to have been two periods in which prices rose remarkably in England, namely, that in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled, and that in the present age. Between the two there seems to have been a stagnation. It would appear that industry, during that intermediate period, increased as fast as gold and silver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money.

There were two attempts made in this reign to settle colonies in America; one by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia; but neither of these projects proved successful. All those noble settlements were made in the following reigns. The current specie of the kingdom in the end of this reign is computed at four millions [x].

The Earl of Leicester desired Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, to provide him with a riding-master in that country, to whom he promises a hundred pounds a-year, besides maintaining himself and servant, and a couple of horses. "I know," adds the earl, "that such a man as I want may receive higher wages in France: but let him consider, that a shilling in England goes as far as two shillings in France [y]." It is known that every thing is much changed since that time.

Manners.

The nobility in this age still supported, in some degree, the ancient magnificence in their hospitality, and in the numbers of their retainers; and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expenses in this last particular [z]. The expense of hospitality she somewhat encouraged by the frequent visits she paid her nobility, and the sumptuous feasts which she received from them [a]. The Earl of Leicester gave her an entertainment in Kenilworth castle, which was extraordinary for expense and magnificence. Among other particulars, we are told that three hundred and sixty-five hogsheads of beer were drunk at it[b]. The earl had fortified this castle at great expense, and it contained arms for ten thousand men[c]. The Earl of Derby had a family consisting of two hundred and forty-servants[d]. Stowe remarks it as a singular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary services from them: a proof that the great power of the sovereign (what was almost unavoidable) had very generally countenanced the nobility in tyrannizing over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal estate, kept a family consisting of a hundred servants[e]. He had a standing table for gentlemen, and two other tables for persons of meaner condition, which were always served alike whether he were in town or in the country. About his person he had people of great distinction, insomuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thousand pounds a-year; and as many among his ordinary servants, who were worth from a thousand pounds to three, five, ten, and twenty thousand pounds[f]. It is to be remarked, that though the revenues of the crown were at that time very small, the ministers and courtiers sometimes found means, by employing the boundless prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is possible for them at present to amass, from their large salaries and more limited authority.

---

[w] A compendious or brief examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers of our countrymen. The author says, that in twenty or thirty years before 1581, commodities had in general risen fifty per cent.; some more. Cannot you, neighbour, remember, says he, that, within these thirty years, I could in this town buy the best pig or goose I could lay my hands on for four-pence, which now costeth twelve-pence; a good capon for three-pence or four-pence, a chicken for a penny, a hen for two-pence? p. 35. Yet the price of ordinary labour was then eight-pence a day, p. 31.

[x] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 475.

[y] Digges's Complete Ambassador.

[z] Strype, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 54.

[a] Harrison, after enumerating the queen's palaces, adds: "But what shall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the queen's majesty hath? Sith all is hers; and when it pleaseth her in the summer season to recreate

Burleigh entertained the queen twelve several times in his country house, where she remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each visit cost him two or three thousand pounds[g]. The quantity of silver plate possessed

herself abroad, and view the estate of the country, and hear the complaints of her poor Commons, injured by her unjust officers or their substitutes, every nobleman's house is her palace, where she continueth during pleasure, and till she return again to some of her own, in which she remaineth so long as she pleaseth." Book ii. chap. 15. Surely one may say of such a guest what Cicero says to Atticus on occasion of a visit paid him by Cæsar: Hospes tamen non is cui diceres, amabo te, eòdem ad me cùm revertêre. Lib. xiii. Ep. 52. If she relieved the people from oppressions, (to whom it seems the law could give no relief,) her visits were a great oppression on the nobility.

[b] Biogr. Brit. vol. iii. p. 1791.

[c] Strype, vol. iii. p. 394.

[d] Stowe, p. 674.

[e] Strype, vol. iii. p. 129. Append.

[f] Life of Burleigh, published by Collins.

[g] Ibid. p. 40.

Appendix III.

by this nobleman is surprising: no less than fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds weight[h]; which, besides the fashion, would be above forty-two thousand pounds sterling in value. Yet Burleigh left only four thousand pounds a-year in land, and eleven thousand pounds in money; and as land was then commonly sold at ten years' purchase, his plate was nearly equal to all the rest of his fortune. It appears that little value was then put upon the fashion of the plate, which probably was but rude: the weight was chiefly considered[i].

But, though there were preserved great remains of the ancient customs, the nobility were by degrees acquiring a taste for elegant luxury; and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and sumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, says Camden[k]; but to the no less decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation. It is, however, more reasonable to think, that this new turn of expense promoted arts and industry; while the ancient hospitality was the source of vice, disorder, sedition, and idleness[l].

Among the other species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age: and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation[m]. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more desirous of making impression on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or studied more the variety and richness of her dresses. She appeared almost every day in a different habit, and tried all the several modes by which she hoped to render herself agreeable. She was also so fond of her clothes, that she never could part with any of them; and at her death she had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thousand, which she had ever worn in her lifetime[n].

The retrenchment of the ancient hospitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favourable to the prerogative of the sovereign; and, by disabling the great noblemen from resistance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of justice. There were many peculiar causes in the situation and character of Henry VII., which augmented the authority of the crown: most of these causes concurred in succeeding princes; together with the factions in religion, and the acquisition of the supremacy, a most important article of prerogative: but the manners of the age were a general cause which operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminish the riches, and still more the influence, of the aristocracy, anciently so formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury dissipated the immense fortunes of the ancient barons; and as the new methods of expense gave subsistence to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independent manner on the fruits of their own industry, a nobleman, instead of that unlimited ascendant which he was wont to assume over those who were maintained at his board, or subsisted by salaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence which customers have over tradesmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors also, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the best account with regard to profit; and either enclosing their fields, or joining many small farms into a few large ones, dismissed those useless hands which formerly were always at their call in every attempt to subvert the government, or oppose a neighbouring baron. By all these means the cities increased; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who in effect was the same with the law, was implicitly obeyed; and though the farther progress of the same causes begat a new plan of liberty, founded on the privileges of the Commons, yet in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the rise of this order, the sovereign took advantage of the present situation, and assumed an authority almost absolute.

---

[h] See note [Y], at the end of the volume.

[i] This appears from Burleigh's will: he specifies only the number of ounces to be given to each legatee, and appoints a goldsmith to see it weighed out to them, without making any distinction of the pieces.

[k] Page 452.

[l] See note [Z], at the end of the volume.

[m] Camden, p. 452.

[n] Carte, vol. iii. p. 702, from Beaumont's Despatches.

Whatever may be commonly imagined, from the authority of Lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington, and later authors, the laws of Henry VII. contributed very little towards the great revolution which happened about this period in the English constitution. The practice of breaking entails by a fine and recovery had been introduced in the preceding reigns; and this prince only gave indirectly a legal sanction to the practice, by reforming some abuses which attended it. But the settled authority which he acquired to the crown enabled the sovereign to encroach on the separate jurisdictions of the barons, and produced a more general and regular execution of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the same fate as the feudal powers; and by a statute of Henry VIII.[o], the jurisdiction of these counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cause of the secret revolution of government, and subverted the power of the barons. There appear still in this reign some remains of the ancient slavery of the boors and peasants[p], but none afterwards.

Learning.

Learning, on its revival, was held in high estimation by the English princes and nobles; and as it was not yet prostituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may, on one account or other, be admitted into the class of authors. Queen Catharine Parr translated a book: Lady Jane Gray, considering her age, and her sex, and her station, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raised from being professor in Cambridge, first to be ambassador to France, then secretary of state. The despatches of those times, and among others those of Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the ladies of the court valued themselves on knowledge: Lady Burleigh, Lady Bacon, and their two sisters, were mistresses of the ancient as well as modern languages, and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality.

Queen Elizabeth wrote and translated several books, and she was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue[q]. It is pretended that she made an extemporary reply in Greek to the university of

---

[o] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 24.

[p] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 731.

[q] See note [A A], at the end of the volume.

Cambridge, who had addressed her in that language. It is certain that she answered in Latin without premeditation, and in a very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had been wanting in respect to her. When she had finished, she turned about to her courtiers, and said, "God's death, my lords!" (for she was much addicted to swearing,) "I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin, that hath long lain rusting[r]." Elizabeth, even after she was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author: and, next to her desire of ambition for beauty, this seems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She translated Boethius of the Consolation of Philosophy, in order, as she pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV.'s change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compositions, we may pronounce, that notwithstanding her application and her excellent parts, her taste in literature was but indifferent: she was much inferior to her successor in this particular, who was himself no perfect model of eloquence.

Unhappily for literature, at least for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in shining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality. Spenser himself, the finest English writer of his age, was long neglected; and after the death of Sir Philip Sidney, his patron, was allowed to die almost for want. This poet contains great beauties, a sweet and harmonious versification, easy elocution, a fine imagination. Yet does the perusal of his work become so tedious, that one never finishes it from the mere pleasure which it affords: it soon becomes a kind of task-reading; and it requires some effort and resolution to carry us on to the end of his long performance. This effect, of which every one is conscious, is usually ascribed to the change of manners; but manners have more changed since Homer's age; and yet that poet remains still the favourite of every reader of taste and judgment. Homer copied true natural manners, which, however rough or uncultivated, will always form an agreeable and interesting picture: but the pencil of the English poet was employed in drawing the affectations, and con-

---

[r] Speed.

Appendix III.

ceits, and fopperies of chivalry, which appear ridiculous as soon as they lose the recommendation of the mode. The tediousness of continued allegory, and that too seldom striking or ingenious, has also contributed to render the *Fairy Queen* peculiarly tiresome; not to mention the too great frequency of its descriptions, and the languor of its stanza. Upon the whole, Spenser maintains his place upon the shelves, among our English classics; but he is seldom seen on the table; and there is scarcely any one, if he dares to be ingenuous, but will confess, that, notwithstanding all the merit of the poet, he affords an entertainment with which the palate is soon satiated. Several writers of late have amused themselves in copying the style of Spenser; and no imitation has been so indifferent as not to bear a great resemblance to the original: his manner is so peculiar, that it is almost impossible not to transfer some of it into the copy.

CHAPTER XLV.

JAMES I.

INTRODUCTION.—JAMES'S FIRST TRANSACTIONS.—STATE OF EUROPE.—ROSNI'S NEGOTIATIONS.—RALEIGH'S CONSPIRACY.—HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE.—A PARLIAMENT.—PEACE WITH SPAIN.

CHAP. XLV. 1603.

THE crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, the eyes of men had been employed in search of her successor; and when old age made the prospect of her death more immediate, there appeared none but the King of Scots, who could advance any just claim or pretension to the throne. He was great-grandson of Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII.; and, on the failure of the male line, his hereditary right remained unquestionable. If the religion of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the other prejudices contracted against her, had formed any considerable obstacle to her succession; these objections, being entirely personal, had no place with regard to her son. Men also considered, that though the title, derived from blood, had been frequently violated since the Norman conquest, such licences had proceeded more from force or intrigue, than from any deliberate maxims of government. The lineal heir had still in the end prevailed; and both his exclusion and restoration had been commonly attended with such convulsions as were sufficient to warn all prudent men not lightly to give way to such irregularities. If the will of Henry VIII., authorized by act of Parliament, had tacitly excluded the Scottish line, the tyranny and caprices of that monarch had been so signal, that a settlement of this nature, unsupported by any just reason, had no authority with the people. Queen Elizabeth, too, with her dying breath, had recognized the undoubted title of her kinsman James; and the whole nation seemed to dispose themselves with joy and pleasure for his reception. Though born and educated amidst a foreign and hostile people, men hoped, from his character of moderation and wisdom, that he would embrace the maxims of an English monarch; and the prudent foresaw greater advantages resulting from a union with Scotland, than disadvantages from submitting to a prince of that nation. The alacrity with which the English looked towards the successor had appeared so evident to Elizabeth, that, concurring with other causes, it affected her with the deepest melancholy; and that wise princess, whose penetration and experience had given her the greatest insight into human affairs, had not yet sufficiently weighed the ingratitude of courtiers and levity of the people.

First transactions of this reign.

As victory abroad, and tranquillity at home, had attended this princess, she left the nation in such flourishing circumstances, that her successor possessed every advantage, except that of comparison with her illustrious name, when he mounted the throne of England. The king's journey from Edinburgh to London immediately afforded to the inquisitive some circumstances of comparison which even the natural partiality in favour of their new sovereign could not interpret to his advantage. As he passed along, all ranks of men flocked about him from every quarter, allured by interest or curiosity. Great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the acclamations which resounded from all sides; and every one could remember how the affability and popular manners of their queen displayed themselves amidst such concourse and exultation of her subjects. But James, though sociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the bustle of a mixed multitude; and though far from disliking flattery, yet was he still fonder of tranquillity and ease. He issued therefore a proclamation, forbidding this resort of people, on pretence of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences, which, he said, would necessarily attend it[a].

He was not, however, insensible to the great flow of affection which appeared in his new subjects; and being himself of an affectionate temper, he seems to have been in haste to make them some return of kindness and good offices. To this motive, probably, we are to ascribe that profusion of titles which was observed in the beginning of his reign; when, in six weeks' time after his entrance into the kingdom, he was computed to have bestowed knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons. If Elizabeth's frugality of honours, as well as of money, had formerly been repined at, it began now to be valued and esteemed; and every one was sensible that the king, by his lavish and premature conferring of favours, had failed of obliging the persons on whom he bestowed them. Titles of all kinds became so common, that they were scarcely marks of distinction; and being distributed, without choice or deliberation, to persons unknown to the prince, were regarded more as the proofs of facility and good-nature, than of any determined friendship or esteem.

---

[a] Kennet, p. 662.

A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, in which an art was promised to be taught, very necessary to assist frail memories in retaining the names of the new nobility [b].

We may presume, that the English would have thrown less blame on the king's facility in bestowing favours, had these been confined entirely to their own nation, and had not been shared out in too unequal proportions to his old subjects. James, who, through his whole reign, was more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, had brought with him great numbers of his Scottish courtiers; whose impatience and importunity were apt, in many particulars, to impose on the easy nature of their master, and extort favours, of which, it is natural to imagine, his English subjects would loudly complain. The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Marre, Lord Hume, Lord Kinloss, Sir George Hume, Secretary Elphinstone [c], were immediately added to the English privy-council. Sir George Hume, whom he created Earl of Dunbar, was his declared favourite as long as that nobleman lived, and was one of the wisest and most virtuous, though the least powerful, of all those whom the king ever honoured with that distinction. Hay, some time after, was created Viscount Doncaster, then Earl of Carlisle, and got an immense fortune from

---

[b] Wilson, in Kennet, p. 665.

[c] Ibid. p. 662.

CHAP. XLV. 1603.

the crown; all which he spent in a splendid and courtly manner. Ramsay obtained the title of Earl of Holderness; and many others, being raised on a sudden to the highest elevation, increased, by their insolence, that envy which naturally attended them, as strangers and ancient enemies.

It must, however, be owned, in justice to James, that he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects. Among these, Secretary Cecil, created successively Lord Effindon, Viscount Cranborne, and Earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. Though the capacity and penetration of this minister were sufficiently known, his favour with the king created surprise, on the accession of that monarch. The secret correspondence into which he had entered with James, and which had sensibly contributed to the easy reception of that prince in England, laid the foundation of Cecil's credit; and while all his former associates, Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, were discountenanced, on account of their animosity against Essex, as well as for other reasons, this minister was continued in employment, and treated with the greatest confidence and regard.

The capacity of James and his ministers, in negotiation, was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Europe, in order to congratulate him on his accession, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Besides ministers from Venice, Denmark, the Palatinate, Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by Barnevelt, the pensionary of Holland, was ambassador from the states of the United Provinces. Aremberg was sent by Archduke Albert; and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain. But he who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the Marquis of Rosni, afterwards Duke of Sully, prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France.

State of Europe.

When the dominions of the house of Austria devolved on Philip II., all Europe was struck with terror, lest the power of a family, which had been raised by fortune, should now be carried to an immeasurable height, by the wisdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehensions found in the event to be more groundless. Slow without prudence, ambitious without enterprise, false without deceiving any body, and refined without any true judgment; such was the character of Philip, and such the character which, during his lifetime, and after his death, he impressed on the Spanish councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces, discontented or indolent inhabitants, were the spectacles which those dominions, lying in every climate of the globe, presented to Philip III., a weak prince, and to the Duke of Lerma, a minister weak and odious. But though military discipline, which still remained, was what alone gave some appearance of life and vigour to that languishing body, yet so great was the terror produced by former power and ambition, that the reduction of the house of Austria was the object of men's vows throughout all the states of Christendom. It was not perceived, that the French empire, now united in domestic peace, and governed by the most heroic and most amiable prince that adorns modern story, was become, of itself, a sufficient counterpoise to the Spanish greatness. Perhaps, that prince himself did not perceive it, when he proposed, by his minister, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns; in order to attack the Austrian dominions on every side, and depress the exorbitant power of that ambitious family[d]. But the genius of the English monarch was not equal to such vast enterprises. The love of peace was his ruling passion; and it was his peculiar felicity, that the conjunctures of the times rendered the same object which was agreeable to him in the highest degree advantageous to his people.

Rosni's negotiations.

The French ambassador, therefore, was obliged to depart from these extensive views, and to concert with James the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces; nor was this object altogether without its difficulties. The king, before his accession, had entertained scruples with regard to the revolt of the Low

---

[d] Sully's Memoirs.

Countries; and being commonly open and sincere[e], he had, on many occasions, gone so far as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels[f]; but having conversed more fully with English ministers and courtiers, he found their attachment to that republic so strong, and their opinion of common interest so established, that he was obliged to sacrifice to politics his sense of justice; a quality which, even when erroneous, is respectable as well as rare in a monarch. He therefore agreed with Rosni, to support secretly the states-general, in concert with the King of France; lest their weakness and despair should oblige them to submit to their old master. The articles of the treaty were few and simple. It was stipulated, that the two kings should allow the Dutch to levy forces in their respective dominions; and should underhand remit to that republic the sum of one million four hundred thousand livres a year for the pay of these forces: that the whole sum should be advanced by the King of France; but that the third of it should be deducted from the debt due by him to Queen Elizabeth. And if the Spaniard attacked either of the princes, they agreed to assist each other: Henry with a force of ten thousand men, James with that of six. This treaty, one of the wisest and most equitable concluded by James during the course of his reign, was more the work of the prince himself than any of his ministers[g].

Raleigh's conspiracy.

Amidst the great tranquillity, both foreign and domestic, with which the nation was blest, nothing could be more surprising than the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king's by the family of Lenox, and descended equally from Henry VII. Every thing remains still mysterious in this conspiracy, and history can give us no clue to unravel it. Watson and Clarke, two catholic priests, were accused of the plot: Lord Grey, a puritan: Lord Cobham, a thoughtless man, of no fixed principle: and Sir Walter Raleigh, suspected to be of that philosophical sect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have since received the appellation of *free-thinkers*: together

---

[e] La Boderie, vol. i. p. 120.

[f] Winwood, vol. ii. p. 55.

[g] Sully's Memoirs.

1603.

with these, Mr. Broke, brother to Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, Mr. Copeley, Sir Edward Parham. What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination; what end they proposed, or what means proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, has never yet been explained, and cannot easily be imagined. As Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham, were commonly believed, after the queen's death, to have opposed proclaiming the king, till conditions should be made with him; they were, upon that account, extremely obnoxious to the court and ministry; and people were apt, at first, to suspect, that the plot was merely a contrivance of Secretary Cecil, to get rid of his old confederates, now become his most inveterate enemies. But the confession, as well as trial of the criminals, put the matter beyond doubt[h]. And though no one could find any marks of a concerted enterprise, it appeared that men of furious and ambitious spirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world discontented, like themselves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, some of them at least, into a correspondence with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to give disturbance to the new settlement.

The two priests[i] and Broke[k] were executed: Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned[l], after they had laid their heads upon the block[m]. Raleigh too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

It appears from Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador; and we may thence presume that, meeting with a repulse from that quarter, he had recourse, for the same unwarrantable purposes, to the Flemish minister. Such a conjecture we are now enabled to form; but it must be confessed that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this transaction, nor indeed any circumstance which could justify his condemnation. He was accused by Cobham alone, in a sudden fit of passion, upon hearing that Raleigh, when examined, had pointed out some circumstances, by

---

[h] State Trials, p. 180, 2d edit. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 8. 11.

[i] November 29.

[k] December 5.

[l] December 9.

[m] Winwood, vol. ii. p. 11.

1603. which Cobham's guilt might be known and ascertained. This accusation Cobham afterwards retracted; and soon after he retracted his retractation. Yet upon the written evidence of this single witness, a man of no honour or understanding, and so contradictory in his testimony, not confronted with Raleigh, not supported by any concurring circumstance, was that great man, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury. His name was at that time extremely odious in England; and every man was pleased to give sentence against the capital enemy of Essex, the favourite of the people.

Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, then attorney-general, managed the cause for the crown, and threw out on Raleigh such gross abuse, as may be deemed a great reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in some degree, on the manners of the age. Traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, are the terms which he employs against one of the most illustrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himself with temper, eloquence, and courage[n].

1604. The next occupation of the king was entirely according to his heart's content. He was employed in dictating magisterially to an assembly of divines, concerning points of faith and discipline, and in receiving the applauses of these holy men, for his superior zeal and learning. The religious disputes between the church and the puritans had induced him to call a conference at Hampton-court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties.

Though the severities of Elizabeth towards the Catholics had much weakened that party, whose genius was opposite to the prevailing spirit of the nation; like severities had had so little influence on the puritans, who were encouraged by that spirit, that no less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen of that party signed a petition to the king on his accession; and many more seemed willing to adhere to it[o]. They all hoped that James, having received his education in Scotland, and having sometimes professed an attachment to the church established there, would at least abate the rigour of the laws enacted in support of the ceremonies, and against puritans; if he did not show more particular grace and encouragement to that sect. But the king's disposition had taken strongly a contrary bias. The more he knew the puritanical clergy, the less favour he bore to them. He had remarked in their Scottish brethren a violent turn towards republicanism, and a zealous attachment to civil liberty; principles nearly allied to that religious enthusiasm with which they were actuated. He had found that, being mostly persons of low birth and mean education, the same lofty pretensions which attended them in their familiar addresses to their Maker, of whom they believed themselves the peculiar favourites, induced them to use the utmost freedoms with their earthly sovereign. In both capacities, of monarch and of theologian, he had experienced the little complaisance which they were disposed to show him; whilst they controlled his commands, disputed his tenets, and, to his face, before the whole people, censured his conduct and behaviour. If he had submitted to the indignity of courting their favour, he treasured up, on that account, the stronger resentment against them, and was determined to make them feel, in their turn, the weight of his authority. Though he had often met with resistance and faction and obstinacy in the Scottish nobility, he retained no ill-will to that order; or rather, showed them favour and kindness in England, beyond what reason and sound policy could well justify: but the ascendant which the presbyterian clergy had assumed over him was what his monarchical pride could never thoroughly digest[p].

---

[n] State Trials, 1st edit. p. 176, 177. 182.

[o] Fuller, book 10. Collier, vol. ii. p. 672.

He dreaded likewise the popularity which attended this order of men in both kingdoms. As useless austerities and self-denial are imagined, in many religions, to render us acceptable to a benevolent Being, who created us solely for happiness, James remarked that the rustic severity of these clergymen, and of their whole sect, had given them, in the eyes of the multitude, the appearance of sanctity and virtue. Strongly inclined himself to mirth and wine, and sports of all kinds, he apprehended their censure for his manner of life, free and disengaged: and, being thus averse, from temper, as well as policy, to the sect of puritans, he was resolved, if possible, to prevent its farther growth in England.

---

[p] James ventured to say, in his Basilicon Doron, published while he was in Scotland, "I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highland or Borderer Thieves greater ingratitude and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits: and suffer not the principal of them to brook your land." *King James's Works*, p. 161.

But it was the character of James's councils, throughout his whole reign, that they were more wise and equitable in their end, than prudent and political in the means. Though justly sensible that no part of civil administration required greater care or a nicer judgment than the conduct of religious parties; he had not perceived, that, in the same proportion as this practical knowledge of theology is requisite, the speculative refinements in it are mean and even dangerous in a monarch. By entering zealously into frivolous disputes, James gave them an air of importance and dignity which they could not otherwise have acquired; and being himself enlisted in the quarrel, he could no longer have recourse to contempt and ridicule, the only proper method of appeasing it. The church of England had not yet abandoned the rigid doctrines of grace and predestination: the puritans had not yet separated themselves from the church, nor openly renounced episcopacy. Though the spirit of the parties was considerably different, the only appearing subjects of dispute were concerning the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the use of the surplice, and the bowing at the name of Jesus. These were the mighty questions which were solemnly agitated in the conference at Hampton-court between some bishops and dignified clergymen on the one hand, and some leaders of the puritanical party on the other; the king and his ministers being present[q].

Conference at Hampton court.

4th Jan.

The puritans were here so unreasonable as to complain of a partial and unfair management of the dispute; as if the search after truth were in any degree the object of such conferences, and a candid indifference, so rare even among private inquirers in *philosophical* questions, could ever be expected among princes and prelates, in a *theological* controversy. The king, it must be confessed, from the beginning of the conference, showed the strongest propensity to the established church, and fre-

---

[q] Fuller's Ecclesiast. History.

1604.

quently inculcated a maxim, which, though it has some foundation, is to be received with great limitations, No Bishop, no King. The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises towards the royal disputant; and the Archbishop of Canterbury said, that *undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit*[r]. A few alterations in the liturgy were agreed to, and both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction.

It had frequently been the practice of the puritans to form certain assemblies, which they called *prophesyings;* where alternately, as moved by the Spirit, they displayed their pious zeal in prayers and exhortations, and raised their own enthusiasm, as well as that of their audience, to the highest pitch, from that social contagion which has so mighty an influence on holy fervours, and from the mutual emulation which arose in those trials of religious eloquence. Such dangerous societies had been suppressed by Elizabeth; and the ministers in this conference moved the king for their revival. But James sharply replied, *If you aim at a* Scottish *presbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil. There* Jack *and* Tom *and* Will *and* Dick *shall meet and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech:* Le Roi s'avisera. *Stay, I pray, for one seven years before you demand; and then, if you find me grow pursie and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough*[s]. Such were the political considerations which determined the king in his choice among religious parties.

A Parliament.

The next assembly, in which James displayed his learning and eloquence, was one that showed more spirit of liberty than appeared among his bishops and theologians. The Parliament was now ready to assemble; being so long delayed on account of the plague, which had broken out in London, and raged to such a degree, that above thirty thousand persons are computed to have died of it in a year; though the city contained at that time little more than one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants.

March 19.

The speech which the king made on opening the Parliament fully displays his character, and proves him to

---

[r] Kennet, p. 665.

[s] Fuller's Ecclesiast. History.

CHAP. XLV. 1604.

have possessed more knowledge and better parts, than prudence or any just sense of decorum and propriety[t]. Though few productions of the age surpass this performance either in style or matter, it wants that majestic brevity and reserve which becomes a king in his addresses to the great council of the nation. It contains, however, a remarkable stroke of candour, where he confesses his too great facility in yielding to the solicitations of suitors[u]: a fault which he promises to correct; but which adhered to him, and distressed him, during the whole course of his reign.

The first business, in which the Commons were engaged, was of the utmost importance to the preservation of their privileges; and neither temper nor resolution were wanting in their conduct of it.

In the former periods of the English government, the House of Commons was of so small weight in the balance of the constitution, that little attention had been given, either by the crown, the people, or the House itself, to the choice and continuance of the members. It had been usual, after Parliaments were prolonged beyond one session, for the chancellor to exert a discretionary authority of issuing new writs to supply the place of any members whom he judged incapable of attending, either on account of their employment, their sickness, or other impediment. This practice gave that minister, and consequently the prince, an unlimited power of modelling at pleasure the representatives of the nation; yet so little jealousy had it created, that the Commons, of themselves, without any court influence or intrigue, and contrary to some former votes of their own, confirmed it in the twenty-third of Elizabeth[w]. At that time, though some members, whose places had been supplied on account of sickness, having now recovered their health, appeared in the House, and claimed their seat; such was the authority of the chancellor, that, merely out of respect to him, his sentence was adhered to, and the new members were continued in their places. Here a most dangerous prerogative was conferred on the crown: but to show the genius of that age, or rather

---

[t] K. James's Works, p. 484, 485, &c. Journ. 22d March, 1603. Kennet, p. 668.

[u] K. James's Works, p. 495, 496.

[w] Journ. January 19, 1580.

1604.

the channels in which power then ran, the crown put very little value on this authority; insomuch that, two days afterwards, the chancellor, of himself, resigned it back to the Commons, and gave them power to judge of a particular vacancy in their House. And when the question concerning the chancellor's new writs was again brought on the carpet towards the end of the session, the Commons were so little alarmed at the precedent, that, though they readmitted some old members, whose seats had been vacated on account of slight indispositions, yet they confirmed the chancellor's sentence in instances where the distemper appeared to have been dangerous and incurable[x]. Nor did they proceed any farther in vindication of their privileges, than to vote, *that during the sitting of Parliament, there do not, at any time, any writ go out for choosing or returning any member, without the warrant of the House.* In Elizabeth's reign, we may remark, and the reigns preceding, sessions of Parliament were not usually the twelfth part so long as the vacations; and during the latter, the chancellor's power, if he pleased to exert it, was confirmed, at least left, by this vote, as unlimited and unrestrained as ever.

In a subsequent Parliament, the absolute authority of the queen was exerted in a manner still more open; and began for the first time to give alarm to the Commons. New writs having been issued by the chancellor when there was no vacancy, and a controversy arising upon that incident, the queen sent a message to the House, informing them that it were impertinent for them to deal in such matters. These questions, she said, belonged only to the chancellor; and she had appointed him to confer with the judges, in order to settle all disputes with regard to elections. The Commons had the courage, a few days after, to vote, "That it was a most perilous precedent, where two knights of a county were duly elected, if any new writ should issue out for a second election, without order of the House itself; that the discussing and adjudging of this and such like differences belonged only to the House; and that there should be no message sent to the lord chancellor, not so much as

---

[x] Journ. March 18, 1580. See farther, D'Ewes, p. 430.

CHAP. XLV. 1604.

to inquire what he had done in the matter, because it was conceived to be a matter derogatory to the power and privilege of the House[y]." This is the most considerable, and almost only, instance of parliamentary liberty which occurs during the reign of that princess.

Outlaws, whether on account of debts or crimes, had been declared by the judges[z] incapable of enjoying a seat in the House, where they must themselves be lawgivers; but this opinion of the judges had been frequently overruled. I find, however, in the case of Vaughan[a], who was questioned for an outlawry, that, having proved all his debts to have been contracted by suretiship, and to have been, most of them, honestly compounded, he was allowed, on account of these favourable circumstances, to keep his seat: which plainly supposes that, otherwise, it would have been vacated, on account of the outlawry[b].

When James summoned this Parliament, he issued a proclamation[c]; in which, among many general advices, which, like a kind tutor, he bestowed on his people, he strictly enjoins them not to choose any outlaw for their representative. And he adds: *If any person take upon him the place of knight, citizen, or burgess, not being duly elected, according to the laws and statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this our proclamation, then every person so offending to be fined or imprisoned for the same.* A proclamation here was plainly put on the same footing with a law, and that in so delicate a point, as the right of elections: most alarming circumstances, had there not been reason to believe that this measure, being entered into so early in the king's reign, proceeded more from precipitation and mistake, than from any serious design of invading the privileges of Parliament[d].

---

[y] D'Ewes, p. 397.

[z] 39 H. 6.

[a] Journ. Feb. 8, 1580.

[b] In a subsequent Parliament, that of the thirty-fifth of the queen, the Commons, after great debate, expressly voted that a person outlawed might be elected. D'Ewes, p. 518. But as the matter had been much contested, the king might think the vote of the House no law, and might esteem his own decision of more weight than theirs. We may also suppose that he was not acquainted with this vote. Queen Elizabeth, in her speech to her last Parliament, complained of their admitting outlaws, and represents that conduct of the House as a great abuse.

[c] Jan. 11, 1604. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 561.

[d] The Duke of Sully tells us, that it was a maxim of James, that no prince, in the first year of his reign, should begin any considerable undertaking: a maxim reasonable in itself, and very suitable to his cautious, not to say timid, character.

Sir Francis Goodwin was chosen member for the county of Bucks, and his return, as usual, was made into chancery. The chancellor, pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated his seat, and issued writs for a new election [e]. Sir John Fortescue was chosen in his place by the county. But the first act of the House was to reverse the chancellor's sentence, and restore Sir Francis to his seat. At the king's suggestion, the Lords desired a conference on the subject; but were absolutely refused by the Commons, as the question entirely regarded their own privileges [f]. The Commons, however, agreed to make a remonstrance to the king by the mouth of their speaker; in which they maintained, that though the returns were by form made into chancery, yet the sole right of judging with regard to elections belonged to the House itself, not to the chancellor [g]. James was not satisfied, and ordered a conference between the House and the judges, whose opinion in this case was opposite to that of the Commons. This conference, he said, he commanded as an *absolute* king [h]; an epithet, we are apt to imagine, not very grateful to English ears, but one to which they had already been somewhat accustomed from the mouth of Elizabeth [i]. He added, *That all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them against him* [k]; a sentiment which, from her conduct, it is certain that princess had also entertained, and which was the reigning principle of her courtiers and ministers, and the spring of all her administration.

The Commons were in some perplexity. Their eyes were now opened, and they saw the consequences of that power which had been assumed by the chancellor, and to which their predecessors had, in some instances, blindly submitted. *By this course*, said a member, *the free election of the counties is taken away, and none shall be chosen but such as shall please the king and council. Let us, therefore, with fortitude, understanding, and sincerity, seek to*

The facility with which he departed from this pretension is another proof that his meaning was innocent. But had the privileges of Parliament been at that time exactly ascertained, or royal power fully limited, could such an imagination ever have been entertained by him, as to think that his proclamations could regulate parliamentary elections?

[e] Winwood, vol. ii. p. 18, 19.

[f] Journ. 26th March, 1604.

[g] Journ. 3d April, 1604.

[h] See note [BB], at the end of the volume.

[i] Camden, in Kennet, p. 375.

[k] Journ. 29th March, 5th April, 1604.

CHAP. XLV. 1604.

maintain our privilege. This cannot be construed any contempt in us, but merely a maintenance of our common rights, which our ancestors have left us, and which it is just and fit for us to transmit to our posterity[l]. Another said[m], *This may be called a* quo warranto *to seize all our liberties. A chancellor*, added a third, *by this course may call a Parliament consisting of what persons he pleases. Any suggestion, by any person, may be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this plain question, whether the chancery or Parliament ought to have authority*[n]*?*

Notwithstanding this watchful spirit of liberty which now appeared in the Commons, their deference for majesty was so great, that they appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council. There the question of law began to appear, in James's eyes, a little more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it; and in order to extricate himself with some honour, he proposed that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be set aside, and a writ be issued, by warrant of the House, for a new election. Goodwin gave his consent, and the Commons embraced the expedient; but in such a manner, that while they showed their regard for the king, they secured for the future the free possession of their seats, and the right which they claimed, of judging solely in their own elections and returns[o].

A power like this, so essential to the exercise of all their other powers, themselves so essential to public liberty, cannot fairly be deemed an encroachment in the Commons; but must be regarded as an inherent privilege, happily rescued from that ambiguity which the negligence of some former Parliaments had thrown upon it.

At the same time the Commons, in the case of Sir Thomas Shirley, established their power of punishing, as well the persons at whose suit any member is arrested, as the officers who either arrest or detain him. Their asserting of this privilege admits of the same reflection[p].

About this period, the minds of men throughout Europe, especially in England, seem to have undergone a general, but insensible, revolution. Though letters had

---

[l] Journ. 30th March, 1604.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] See note [C C], at the end of the volume.
[p] Journ. 6th and 7th May, 1604.

1604.

been revived in the preceding age, they were chiefly cultivated by those of sedentary professions; nor had they, till now, begun to spread themselves, in any degree, among men of the world. Arts, both mechanical and liberal, were every day receiving great improvements; navigation had extended itself over the whole globe; travelling was secure and agreeable; and the general system of politics in Europe was become more enlarged and comprehensive.

In consequence of this universal fermentation, the ideas of men enlarged themselves on all sides; and the several constituent parts of the Gothic governments, which seem to have lain long inactive, began every where to operate and encroach on each other. On the continent, where the necessity of discipline had begotten standing armies, the princes commonly established an unlimited authority, and overpowered, by force or intrigue, the liberties of the people. In England, the love of freedom, which, unless checked, flourishes extremely in all liberal natures, acquired new force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, suitable to that cultivated understanding which became every day more common among men of birth and education. A familiar acquaintance with the precious remains of antiquity excited, in every generous breast, a passion for a limited constitution, and begat an emulation of those manly virtues, which the Greek and Roman authors, by such animating examples, as well as pathetic expressions, recommend to us. The severe though popular government of Elizabeth had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds: but when a new and a foreign family succeeded to the throne, and a prince less dreaded and less beloved, symptoms immediately appeared of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

Happily, this prince possessed neither sufficient capacity to perceive the alteration, nor sufficient art and vigour to check it in its early advances. Jealous of regal, because conscious of little personal authority, he had established within his own mind a speculative system of absolute government, which few of his subjects, he believed, and none but traitors and rebels, would make any scruple to admit. On whichever side he cast his eye, every thing

CHAP. XLV. 1604.

concurred to encourage his prejudices. When he compared himself with the other hereditary sovereigns of Europe, he imagined, that as he bore the same rank, he was entitled to equal prerogatives; not considering the innovations lately introduced by them, and the military force by which their authority was supported. In England, that power, almost unlimited, which had been exercised for above a century, especially during the late reign, he ascribed solely to royal birth and title; not to the prudence and spirit of the monarchs, nor to the conjunctures of the times. Even the opposition which he had struggled with in Scotland encouraged him still farther in his favourite notions; while he there saw, that the same resistance which opposed regal authority, violated all law and order, and made way, either for the ravages of a barbarous nobility, or for the more intolerable insolence of seditious preachers. In his own person, therefore, he thought all legal power to be centred, by an hereditary and a divine right: and this opinion might have proved dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty, had not the firmness of the persuasion, and its seeming evidence, induced him to trust solely to his right, without making the smallest provision, either of force or politics, in order to support it.

Such were the opposite dispositions of Parliament and prince, at the commencement of the Scottish line; dispositions just beginning to exist and to appear in the Parliament[q], but thoroughly established and openly avowed on the part of the prince.

The spirit and judgment of the House of Commons appeared, not only in defence of their own privileges, but also in their endeavour, though at this time in vain, to free trade from those shackles which the high exerted prerogative, and even, in this respect, the ill-judged tyranny of Elizabeth, had imposed upon it.

James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies which had been granted by his predecessor, and which extremely fettered every species of domestic industry: but the exclusive companies still remained; another species of monopoly, by which almost all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few

[q] See note [D D], at the end of the volume.

1604.

rapacious engrossers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce was for ever sacrificed to a little temporary advantage of the sovereign. These companies, though arbitrarily elected, had carried their privileges so far, that almost all the commerce of England was centred in London; and it appears that the customs of that port amounted to one hundred and ten thousand pounds a year, while those of all the kingdom beside yielded only seventeen thousand[r]. Nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about two hundred citizens[s], who were easily enabled, by combining among themselves, to fix whatever price they pleased both to the exports and imports of the nation. The committee appointed to consider this enormous grievance, one of the greatest which we read of in English story, insist on it as a fact well known and avowed, however contrary to present received opinion, that shipping and seamen had sensibly decayed during all the preceding reign[t]; and though nothing be more common than complaints of the decay of trade, even during the most flourishing periods, yet is this a consequence which might naturally result from such arbitrary establishments, at a time when the commerce of all the other nations of Europe, except that of Scotland, enjoyed full liberty and indulgence.

While the Commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the nation, they also endeavoured to free the landed property from the burden of wardships[u], and to remove those remains of the feudal tenures under which the nation still laboured. A just regard was shown to the crown in the conduct of this affair; nor was the remedy sought for considered as a matter of right, but merely of grace and favour. The profit which the king reaped, both from wards and from respite of homage, was estimated; and it was intended to compound for these prerogatives by a secure and independent revenue. But after some debates in the House, and some conferences with the Lords, the affair was found to contain more difficulties than could easily,

---

[r] Journ. 21 May, 1604.

[s] Id. ibid.

[t] A remonstrance from the Trinity-house, in 1602, says, that in a little above twelve years after 1588, the shipping and number of seamen in England decayed about a third. Anglesey's happy future State of England, p. 128, from Sir Julius Cæsar's Collections. See Journ. 21 May, 1604.

[u] Journ. 1 June, 1604.

1604.

at that time, be surmounted; and it was not then brought to any conclusion.

The same fate attended an attempt of a like nature, to free the nation from the burden of purveyance. This prerogative had been much abused by the purveyors[w], and the Commons showed some intention to offer the king fifty thousand pounds a year for the abolition of it.

Another affair of the utmost consequence was brought before the Parliament, where the Commons showed a greater spirit of independence than any true judgment of national interest. The union of the two kingdoms was zealously and even impatiently urged by the king[x]. He justly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign that he had terminated the bloody animosities of these hostile nations, and had reduced the whole island under one government; enjoying tranquillity within itself, and security from all foreign invasions. He hoped, that while his subjects of both kingdoms reflected on past disasters, besides regarding his person as infinitely precious, they would entertain the strongest desire of securing themselves against the return of like calamities, by a thorough union of laws, Parliaments, and privileges. He considered not, that this very reflection operated, as yet, in a contrary manner on men's prejudices, and kept alive that mutual hatred between the nations, which had been carried to the greatest extremities, and required time to allay it. The more urgent the king appeared in promoting so useful a measure, the more backward was the English Parliament in concurring with him; while they ascribed his excessive zeal to that partiality in favour of his ancient subjects, of which they thought that, on other occasions, they had reason to complain. Their complaisance for the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of a union, but without any power of making advances towards the establishment of it[y].

The same spirit of independence, and perhaps not better judgment, appeared in the House of Commons when

---

[w] Journ. 30 April, 1604.

[x] Journ. 21 April, 1 May, 1604. Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 91.

[y] Journ. 7 June, 1604. Kennet, p. 673.

1604.

the question of supply was brought before them by some members attached to the court. In vain was it urged, that though the king received a supply which had been voted to Elizabeth, and which had not been collected before her death, yet he found it burdened with a debt contracted by the queen, equal to the full amount of it: that peace was not yet thoroughly concluded with Spain, and that Ireland was still expensive to him: that on his journey from Scotland, amidst such a concourse of people, and on that of the queen and royal family, he had expended considerable sums: and that as the courtiers had looked for greater liberalities from the prince on his accession, and had imposed on his generous nature, so the prince, in his turn, would expect, at the beginning, some mark of duty and attachment from his people, and some consideration of his necessities. No impression was made on the House of Commons by these topics, and the majority appeared fully determined to reject all supply. The burden of government, at that time, lay surprisingly light upon the people; and that very reason, which to us, at this distance, may seem a motive of generosity, was the real cause why the Parliament was, on all occasions, so remarkably frugal and reserved. They were not, as yet, accustomed to open their purses in so liberal a manner as their successors, in order to supply the wants of their sovereign; and the smallest demand, however requisite, appeared in their eyes unreasonable and exorbitant. The Commons seemed also to have been desirous of reducing the crown to still farther necessities, by their refusing a bill, sent down to them by the Lords, for entailing the crown lands for ever on the king's heirs and successors[z]. The dissipation made by Elizabeth had probably taught James the necessity of this law, and shown them the advantage of refusing it.

In order to cover a disappointment with regard to supply, which might bear a bad construction, both at home and abroad, James sent a message to the House[a], in which he told them, that he desired no supply; and he was very forward in refusing what was never offered him. Soon after, he prorogued the Parliament, not without discovering, in his speech, visible marks of dis-

7th July.

---

[z] Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 108.

[a] Journ. 26 June, 1604.

CHAP. XLV. 1604.

satisfaction. Even so early in his reign, he saw reason to make public complaints of the restless and encroaching spirit of the puritanical party, and of the malevolence with which they endeavoured to inspire the Commons. Nor were his complaints without foundation, or the puritans without interest; since the Commons, now finding themselves free from the arbitrary government of Elizabeth, made application for a conference with the Lords, and presented a petition to the king, the purport of both which was, to procure, in favour of the puritans, a relaxation of the ecclesiastical laws[b]. The use of the surplice, and of the cross in baptism, is there chiefly complained of; but the remedy seems to have been expected solely from the king's dispensing power[c]. In the papers which contain this application and petition, we may also see proofs of the violent animosity of the Commons against the Catholics, together with the intolerating spirit of that assembly[d].

Peace with Spain. 18th Aug.

This summer the peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London[e]. In the conferences previous to this treaty, the nations were found to have so few claims on each other, that, except on account of the support given by England to the Low Country provinces, the war might appear to have been continued more on account of personal animosity between Philip and Elizabeth, than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects. Some articles in the treaty, which seemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the king; and as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared that, by secret agreement, the king had expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the Hollanders[f]. The Constable of Castile came into England to ratify the peace; and on the part of England, the Earl of Hertford was sent into the Low Countries for the same purpose, and the Earl of Nottingham, high

---

[b] La Boderie, the French ambassador, says, that the House of Commons was composed mostly of puritans, vol. i. p. 81.

[c] Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 98, 99, 100.

[d] See note [E E], at the end of the volume.

[e] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 585, &c.

[f] Winwood, vol. ii. p. 27. 330, *et alibi*. In this respect James's peace was more honourable than that which Henry IV. himself made with Spain. This latter prince stipulated not to assist the Dutch; and the supplies, whih he secretly sent them, were in direct contravention to the treaty.

1604.

admiral, into Spain. The train of the latter was numerous and splendid; and the Spaniards, it is said, were extremely surprised, when they beheld the blooming countenances and graceful appearance of the English, whom their bigotry, inflamed by the priests, had represented as so many monsters and infernal demons.

Though England, by means of her naval force, was perfectly secure during the latter years of the Spanish war, James showed an impatience to put an end to hostilities; and soon after his accession, before any terms of peace were concerted, or even proposed by Spain, he recalled all the letters of marque [g] which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth. Archduke Albert had made some advances of a like nature [h], which invited the king to take this friendly step. But what is remarkable, in James's proclamation for that purpose, he plainly supposes, that, as he had himself, while King of Scotland, always lived in amity with Spain, peace was attached to his person, and that merely by his accession to the crown of England, without any articles of treaty or agreement, he had ended the war between the kingdoms [i]. This ignorance of the law of nations may appear surprising in a prince, who was thirty-six years of age, and who had reigned from his infancy, did we not consider that a king of Scotland, who lives in close friendship with England, has few transactions to manage with foreign princes, and has little opportunity of acquiring experience. Unhappily for James, his timidity, his prejudices, his indolence, his love of amusement, particularly of hunting, to which he was much addicted, ever prevented him from making any progress in the knowledge or practice of foreign politics, and in a little time diminished that regard which all the neighbouring nations had paid to England during the reign of his predecessor [k].

---

[g] 23d of June, 1603.

[h] Grotii Annal. lib. 12.

[i] See proclamations during the first seven years of King James. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 65.

[k] Mémoires de la Boderie, vol. i. p. 64. 181. 195. 217. 302. vol. ii. p. 244. 278.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Gunpowder Conspiracy.—A Parliament.—Truce between Spain and the United Provinces.—A Parliament.—Death of the French King.—Arminianism.—State of Ireland.

CHAP. XLVI. 1604.

We are now to relate an event, one of the most memorable that history has conveyed to posterity, and containing at once a singular proof both of the strength and weakness of the human mind, its widest departure from morals, and most steady attachment to religious prejudices. 'Tis the *Gunpowder treason* of which I speak; a fact as certain as it appears incredible.

Gunpowder conspiracy.

The Roman Catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as he was descended from Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause, and as he himself, in his early youth, was imagined to have shown some partiality towards them, which nothing, they thought, but interest and necessity had since restrained. It is pretended, that he had even entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion, as soon as he should mount the throne of England; whether their credulity had interpreted in this sense some obliging expressions of the king's, or that he had employed such an artifice, in order to render them favourable to his title[a]. Very soon they discovered their mistake; and were at once surprised and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. In one of their conversations with regard to the distressed condition of the Catholics, Piercy, having broken into a sally of passion, and men-

---

[a] State Trials, vol. ii. p. 201, 202, 203. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 49.

CHAP. XLVI.

1604.

tioned assassinating the king, Catesby took the opportunity of revealing to him a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, which not only included a sure execution of vengeance, but afforded some hopes of restoring the Catholic religion in England. In vain, said he, would you put an end to the king's life: he has children, who would succeed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extinguish the whole royal family: the nobility, the gentry, and Parliament, are all infected with the same heresy, and could raise to the throne another prince and another family, who, besides their hatred to our religion, would be animated with revenge for the tragical death of their predecessors. To serve any good purpose, we must destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the Lords, the Commons, and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they are all assembled on the first meeting of the Parliament, and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us, combining, may run a mine below the hall in which they meet, and choosing the very moment when the king harangues both Houses, consign over to destruction these determined foes to all piety and religion. Meanwhile, we ourselves standing aloof, safe and unsuspected, shall triumph in being the instruments of divine wrath, and shall behold with pleasure those sacrilegious walls, in which were passed the edicts for proscribing our church and butchering her children, tossed into a thousand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating, perhaps, still new persecutions against us, pass from flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their offences[b].

Piercy was charmed with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders, in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new conspirator, in order to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the Communion, the most

---

[b] History of the Gunpowder Treason.

CHAP. XLVI. 1604.

sacred rite of their religion [c]. And it is remarkable, that no one of these pious devotees ever entertained the least compunction with regard to the cruel massacre which they projected, of whatever was great and eminent in the nation. Some of them only were startled by the reflection, that of necessity many Catholics must be present, as spectators or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the House of Peers; but Tesmond, a Jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, removed these scruples, and showed them how the interests of religion required that the innocent should here be sacrificed with the guilty.

All this passed in the spring and summer of the year 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the Parliament was to assemble. Towards the end of that year they began their operations. That they might be less interrupted, and give less suspicion to the neighbourhood, they carried in store of provisions with them, and never desisted from their labour. Obstinate in their purpose, and confirmed by passion, by principle, and by mutual exhortation, they little feared death in comparison of a disappointment; and having provided arms, together with the instruments of their labour, they resolved there to perish in case of a discovery. Their perseverance advanced the work, and they soon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickness; but on approaching the other side, they were somewhat startled at hearing a noise which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found that it came from the vault below the House of Lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. The opportunity was immediately seized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-six barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open; and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of success, they now began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, Prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of Parliament. The duke, by reason of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved, that Piercy should seize him, or assassinate him. The Princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at Lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire; and Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, Grant, being let into the conspiracy, engaged to assemble their friends, on pretence of a hunting match, and seizing that princess, immediately to proclaim her queen. So transported were they with rage against their adversaries, and so charmed with the prospect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own safety; and trusting to the general confusion which must result from so unexpected a blow, they foresaw not, that the fury of the people, now unrestrained by any authority, must have turned against them, and would probably have satiated itself by an universal massacre of the Catholics.

---

[c] State Trials, vol. i. p. 190. 198. 210.

The day, so long wished for, now approached, on which the Parliament was appointed to assemble. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept, during the space of near a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had as yet induced any one conspirator, either to abandon the enterprise, or make a discovery of it. The holy fury had extinguished in their breast every other motive; and it was an indiscretion at last, proceeding chiefly from these very bigoted prejudices and partialities, which saved the nation.

Ten days before the meeting of Parliament, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic, son to Lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand. *My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because*

CHAP. XLVI. 1605.

it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you[d].

Monteagle knew not what to make of this letter; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten or ridicule him, he judged it safest to carry it to Lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Though Salisbury too was inclined to pay little attention to it, he thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. To the king it appeared not so slight a matter; and from the serious earnest style of the letter, he conjectured that it implied something dangerous and important. A *terrible blow*, and yet *the authors concealed; a* danger so *sudden*, and yet so *great;* these circumstances seemed all to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the Houses of Parliament. This care belonged to the Earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of Parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and faggots which lay in the vault under the Upper House, and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Piercy's servant. That daring and determined courage, which so much distinguished this conspirator, even among those heroes in villany, was fully painted in his countenance, and was not passed unnoticed by the chamberlain[e]. Such a quantity also of fuel, for the use of one who lived so little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary[f]; and upon comparing all circumstances, it was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and turning over the faggots, discovered the powder. The matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who finding his guilt now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret, that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once,

[d] K. James's Works, p. 227.

[e] Ibid. p. 229.

[f] Id. ibid.

1605.

and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies[g]. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his accomplices, and showing no concern but for the failure of the enterprise[h]. This obstinacy lasted two or three days; but being confined to the Tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being just shown to him, his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, and unsupported by hope or society, at last failed him, and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators[i].

Catesby, Piercy, and the other criminals, who were in London, though they had heard of the alarm taken at the letter sent to Monteagle, though they had heard of the chamberlain's search, yet were resolved to persist to the utmost, and never abandon their hopes of success[k]. But at last, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, they hurried down to Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, thinking himself assured that success had attended his confederates, was already in arms, in order to seize the Princess Elizabeth. She had escaped into Coventry, and they were obliged to put themselves on their defence against the country, who were raised from all quarters, and armed, by the sheriff. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty persons; and being surrounded on every side, could no longer entertain hopes, either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible to the assailants. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire and disabled them for defence[l]. The people rushed in upon them. Piercy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the executioner. Notwithstanding this horrid crime, the bigoted Catholics were so devoted to Garnet, that

---

[g] K. James's Works, p. 230.

[h] Winwood, vol. ii. p. 173.

[i] K. James's Works, p. 231.

[k] See note [F F], at the end of the volume.

[l] State Trials, vol. i. p. 199. Discourse of the manner, &c. p. 69, 70.

CHAP. XLVI. 1605.

they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood[m]; and in Spain he was regarded as a martyr[n].

Neither had the desperate fortune of the conspirators urged them to this enterprise, nor had the former profligacy of their lives prepared them for so great a crime. Before that audacious attempt, their conduct seems, in general, to be liable to no reproach. Catesby's character had entitled him to such regard, that Rookwood and Digby were seduced by their implicit trust in his judgment; and they declared that, from the motive alone of friendship to him, they were ready, on any occasion, to have sacrificed their lives[o]. Digby himself was as highly esteemed and beloved as any man in England; and he had been particularly honoured with the good opinion of Queen Elizabeth[p]. It was bigoted zeal alone, the most absurd of prejudices masked with reason, the most criminal of passions covered with the appearance of duty, which seduced them into measures, that were fatal to themselves, and had so nearly proved fatal to their country[q].

The Lords Mordaunt and Stourton, two Catholics, were fined, the former ten thousand pounds, the latter four thousand, by the star-chamber; because their absence from Parliament had begotten a suspicion of their being acquainted with the conspiracy. The Earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, and detained several years prisoner in the Tower; because, not to mention other grounds of suspicion, he had admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen pensioners, without his taking the requisite oaths[r].

The king, in his speech to the Parliament, observed, that though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman Catholics in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities.

---

[m] Winwood, vol. ii. p. 300.

[n] Id. ibid.

[o] State Trials, vol. i. p. 201.

[p] Athen. Ox. vol. ii. fol. 254.

[q] Digby, after his condemnation, said in a letter to his wife: "Now for my intention, let me tell you, that if I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world; and no other cause drew me, to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal to God's religion." He expresses his surprise to hear that any Catholics had condemned it. *Digby's Papers, published by Secretary Coventry.*

[r] Camden in Kennet, p. 692.

1605.

Many holy men, he said, and our ancestors among the rest, had been seduced to concur with that church in her scholastic doctrines; who yet had never admitted her seditious principles, concerning the pope's power of dethroning kings, or sanctifying assassination. The wrath of Heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favour; and nothing can be more hateful than the uncharitableness of the puritans, who condemn alike to eternal torments, even the most inoffensive partisans of popery. For his part, he added, that conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter, in the least, his plan of government: while with one hand he punished guilt, with the other he would still support and protect innocence [s]. After this speech, he prorogued the Parliament till the 22d of January [t].

The moderation and, I may say, magnanimity of the king, immediately after so narrow an escape from a most detestable conspiracy, was nowise agreeable to his subjects. Their animosity against popery, even before this provocation, had risen to a great pitch; and it had perhaps been more prudent in James, by a little dissimulation, to have conformed himself to it. His theological learning, confirmed by disputation, had happily fixed his judgment in the Protestant faith; yet was his heart a little biassed by the allurements of Rome, and he had been well-pleased, if the making of some advances could have effected an union with that ancient mother-church. He strove to abate the acrimony of his own subjects against the religion of their fathers: he became himself the object of their diffidence and aversion. Whatever measures he embraced, in Scotland to introduce prelacy, in England to enforce the authority of the established church, and support its rites and ceremonies, were interpreted as so many steps towards popery, and were represented by the puritans as symptoms of idolatry and superstition. Ignorant of the consequences, or unwilling to sacrifice to politics his inclination, which he called his conscience, he persevered in the same measures,

1606.

---

[s] K. James's Works, p. 503, 504.

[t] The Parliament, this session, passed an act obliging every one to take the oath of allegiance: a very moderate test, since it decided no controverted points between the two religions, and only engaged the persons who took it to abjure the pope's power of dethroning kings. See K. James's Works, p. 250.

CHAP. XLVI. 1606. and gave trust and preferment, almost indifferently, to his Catholic and Protestant subjects. And finding his person, as well as his title, less obnoxious to the church of Rome than those of Elizabeth, he gradually abated the rigour of those laws, which had been enacted against that church, and which were so acceptable to his bigoted subjects. But the effects of these dispositions on both sides became not very sensible till towards the conclusion of his reign.

At this time James seems to have possessed the affections even of his English subjects, and, in a tolerable degree, their esteem and regard. Hitherto their complaints were chiefly levelled against his too great constancy in his early friendships; a quality which, had it been attended with more economy, the wise would have excused, and the candid would even, perhaps, have applauded. His parts, which were not despicable, and his learning, which was great, being highly extolled by his courtiers and gownmen, and not yet tried in the management of any delicate affairs, for which he was unfit, raised a high idea of him in the world; nor was it always through flattery or insincerity that he received the title of the second Solomon. A report, which was suddenly spread about this time, of his being assassinated, visibly struck a great consternation into all orders of men [u]. The Commons also abated, this session, somewhat of their excessive frugality, and granted him an aid, payable in four years, of three subsidies and six fifteenths, which Sir Francis Bacon said in the House [w] might amount to about four hundred thousand pounds: and for once the king and Parliament parted in friendship and good humour. The hatred which the Catholics so visibly bore him, gave him, at this time, an additional value in the eyes of his people. The only considerable point in which the Commons incurred his displeasure was by discovering their constant good-will to the puritans, in whose favour they desired a conference with the Lords [x]: which was rejected.

A Parliament.

Nov. 18.

The chief affair transacted next session was the intended union of the two kingdoms [y]. Nothing could exceed the king's passion and zeal for this noble enter-

---

[u] Kennet, p. 676.

[w] Journ. 20th May, 1606.

[x] Journ. 5th April, 1606.

[y] Kennet, p. 676.

1606.

prise, but the Parliament's prejudice and reluctance against it. There remain two excellent speeches in favour of the union, which it would not be improper to compare together; that of the king[z], and that of Sir Francis Bacon. Those who affect in every thing such an extreme contempt for James, will be surprised to find, that his discourse, both for good reasoning and eloquent composition, approaches very near that of a man who was undoubtedly, at that time, one of the greatest geniuses in Europe. A few trivial indiscretions and indecorums may be said to characterize the harangue of the monarch, and mark it for his own. And in general, so open and avowed a declaration in favour of a measure, while he had taken no care, by any precaution or intrigue, to ensure success, may safely be pronounced an indiscretion. But the art of managing Parliaments, by private interest or cabal, being found hitherto of little use or necessity, had not, as yet, become a part of English politics. In the common course of affairs, government could be conducted without their assistance; and when their concurrence became necessary to the measures of the crown, it was, generally speaking, except in times of great faction and discontent, obtained without much difficulty.

The king's influence seems to have rendered the Scottish Parliament cordial in all the steps which they took towards the union. Though the advantages which Scotland might hope from that measure were more considerable; yet were the objections, too, with regard to that kingdom, more striking and obvious. The benefit which must have resulted to England, both by accession of strength, and security, was not despicable; and as the English were by far the greater nation, and possessed the seat of government, the objections, either from the point of honour, or from jealousy, could not reasonably have any place among them. The English Parliament, indeed, seemed to have been swayed merely by the vulgar motive of national antipathy. And they persisted so obstinately in their prejudices, that all the efforts for a thorough union and incorporation ended only in the abolition of the hostile laws formerly enacted between the kingdoms[a].

---

[z] K. James's Works, p. 509.

[a] The Commons were even so averse to the union, that they had complained in the former session to the Lords, of the Bishop of Bristol, for writing a book in

CHAP. XLVI. 1606.

Some precipitate steps which the king, a little after his accession, had taken, in order to promote his favourite project, had been here observed to do more injury than service. From his own authority, he had assumed the title of King of Great Britain; and had quartered the arms of Scotland with those of England, in all coins, flags, and ensigns. He had also engaged the judges to make a declaration, that all those who, after the union of the crowns, should be born in either kingdom, were, for that reason alone, naturalized in both. This was a nice question, and, according to the ideas of those times, susceptible of subtile reasoning on both sides. The king was the same: the Parliaments were different. To render the people therefore the same, we must suppose that the sovereign authority resided chiefly in the prince, and that these popular assemblies were rather instituted to assist with money and advice, than endowed with any controlling or active powers in the government. *It is evident*, says Bacon, in his pleadings on this subject, *that all other commonwealths, monarchies only excepted, do subsist by a law precedent. For where authority is divided amongst many officers, and they not perpetual, but annual or temporary, and not to receive their authority but by election, and certain persons too have voices only in that election, and the like; these are busy and curious frames, which of necessity do presuppose a law precedent, written or unwritten, to guide and direct them: but in monarchies, especially hereditary, that is, when several families or lineages of people do submit themselves to one line, imperial or royal, the submission is more natural and simple; which afterwards, by law subsequent, is perfected, and made more formal; but that is grounded upon nature*[b]. It would seem, from this reasoning, that the idea of a *hereditary, limited* monarchy, though implicitly supposed, in many public transactions, had scarcely ever, as yet, been expressly formed by any English lawyer or politician.

Except the obstinacy of the Parliament with regard to the union, and an attempt on the king's ecclesiastical

---

favour of it; and the prelate was obliged to make submissions for this offence. The crime imputed to him seems to have consisted in his treating of a subject which lay before the Parliament. So little notion had they as yet of general liberty! See Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 108, 109, 110.

[b] Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 190, 191, edit. 1730.

jurisdiction[c], most of their measures, during this session, were sufficiently respectful and obliging: though they still discover a vigilant spirit and a careful attention towards national liberty. The votes, also, of the Commons show, that the House contained a mixture of puritans, who had acquired great authority among them[d], and who, together with religious prejudices, were continually suggesting ideas more suitable to a popular than a monarchical form of government. The natural appetite for rule made the Commons lend a willing ear to every doctrine which tended to augment their own power and influence. 1606.

1607. A petition was moved in the Lower House, for a more rigorous execution of the laws against popish recusants, and an abatement towards Protestant clergymen, who scrupled to observe the ceremonies. Both these points were equally unacceptable to the king; and he sent orders to the House to proceed no farther in that matter. The Commons were inclined, at first, to consider these orders as a breach of privilege: but they soon acquiesced, when told that this measure of the king's was supported by many precedents during the reign of Elizabeth[e]. Had they been always disposed to make the precedents of that reign the rule of their conduct, they needed never have had any quarrel with any of their monarchs.

5th June. The complaints of Spanish depredations were very loud among the English merchants[f]. The Lower House sent a message to the Lords, desiring a conference with them, in order to their presenting a joint petition to the king on the subject. The Lords took some time to deliberate on this message; because they said the matter was *weighty* and *rare*. It probably occurred to them at first, that the Parliament's interposing in affairs of state would appear unusual and extraordinary. And to show, that in this sentiment they were not guided by court influence, after they had deliberated, they agreed to the conference.

The House of Commons began now to feel themselves of such importance, that on the motion of Sir Edwin

---

[c] Journ. 2d December, 5th March, 1606. 25th, 26th June, 1607.

[d] Journ. 26th February, 4th, 7th March, 1606. 2d May, 17th June, 1607.

[e] Journ. 16th, 17th June, 1607.

[f] Journ. 25th Feb. 1606.

1607. Sandys, a member of great authority, they entered, for the first time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals[g]. When all business was finished, the king prorogued the Parliament.

About this time there was an insurrection of the country people in Northamptonshire, headed by one Reynolds, a man of low condition. They went about destroying enclosures: but carefully avoided committing any other 4th July. outrage. This insurrection was easily suppressed, and though great lenity was used towards the rioters, yet were some of the ringleaders punished. The chief cause of that trivial commotion seems to have been, of itself, far from trivial. The practice still continued in England, of disusing tillage, and throwing the land into enclosures for the sake of pasture. By this means the kingdom was depopulated, at least prevented from increasing so much in people as might have been expected from the daily increase of industry and commerce.

1608. Next year presents us with nothing memorable: but in 1609. the spring of the subsequent, after a long negotiation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war, which, for near half a century, had been carried on with such fury between Spain and the states of the United Provinces. Never contest seemed, at first, more unequal: never contest was finished with more honour to the weaker party. On the side of Spain were numbers, riches, authority, discipline: on the side of the revolted provinces were found the attachment to liberty and the enthusiasm of religion. By her naval enterprises the republic maintained her armies; and, joining peaceful industry to military valour, she was enabled, by her own force, to support herself, and gradually rely less on those neighbouring princes, who, from jealousy to Spain, were at first prompted to encourage her revolt. Long had the pride of that monarchy prevailed over her interest, and prevented her from hearkening to any terms of accommodation with her rebellious subjects. But finding all intercourse cut off between her provinces by the maritime force of the states, she at last agreed to treat with them as a free people, and solemnly to renounce all claim and pretension to their sovereignty.

Truce between Spain and the United Provinces.

---

[g] Journ. 3d July, 1607.

1609. March 30.

This chief point being gained, the treaty was easily brought to a conclusion, under the joint mediation and guarantee of France and England. All exterior appearances of honour were paid equally to both crowns: but very different were the sentiments which the states, as well as all Europe, entertained of the princes who wore them. Frugality and vigour, the chief circumstances which procure regard among foreign nations, shone out as conspicuously in Henry as they were deficient in James. To a contempt of the English monarch, Henry seems to have added a considerable degree of jealousy and aversion, which were sentiments altogether without foundation. James was just and fair in all transactions with his allies[h], but it appears from the memoirs of those times, that each side deemed him partial towards their adversary, and fancied that he had entered into secret measures against them[i]. So little equity have men in their judgments of their own affairs; and so dangerous is that entire neutrality affected by the King of England.

1610. Feb. 9. A Parliament.

The little concern which James took in foreign affairs renders the domestic occurrences, particularly those of Parliament, the most interesting of his reign. A new session was held this spring: the king full of hopes of receiving supply; the Commons of circumscribing his prerogative. The Earl of Salisbury, now created treasurer on the death of the Earl of Dorset, laid open the king's necessities, first to the Peers, then to a committee of the Lower House[k]. He insisted on the unavoidable expense incurred in supporting the navy, and in suppressing a late insurrection in Ireland: he mentioned three numerous courts which the king was obliged to maintain, for himself, for the queen, and for the Prince of Wales: he observed, that Queen Elizabeth, though a single woman, had received very large supplies in the years preceding her death, which alone were expensive

---

[h] The plan of accommodation which James recommended is found in Winwood, vol. ii. p. 429, 430, and is the same that was recommended by Henry, as we learn from Jeanin, tom. iii. p. 416, 417. It had long been imagined by historians, from Jeanin's authority, that James had declared to the court of Spain, that he would not support the Dutch in their pretensions to liberty and independence. But it has since been discovered by Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 456. 466. 469. 475, 476, that that report was founded on a lie of President Richardot's.

[i] Winwood and Jeanin, *passim.*

[k] Journ. 17th Feb. 1609. Kennet, p. 681.

1610.

to her: and he remarked, that, during her reign, she had alienated many of the crown lands; an expedient which, though it supplied her present necessities, without laying burdens on her people, extremely multiplied the necessities of her successor. From all these causes, he thought it nowise strange that the king's income should fall short so great a sum as eighty-one thousand pounds of his stated and regular expense; without mentioning contingencies, which ought always to be esteemed a fourth of the yearly charges. And as the crown was now necessarily burdened with a great and urgent debt of three hundred thousand pounds, he thence inferred the absolute necessity of an immediate and large supply from the people. March 21. To all these reasons, which James likewise urged in a speech addressed to both Houses, the Commons remained inexorable. But not to shock the king with an absolute refusal, they granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth; which would scarcely amount to a hundred thousand pounds. And James received the mortification of discovering, in vain, all his wants, and of begging aid of subjects who had no reasonable indulgence or consideration for him.

Among the many causes of disgust and quarrel, which now daily and unavoidably multiplied between prince and Parliament, this article of money is to be regarded as none of the least considerable. After the discovery and conquest of the West Indies, gold and silver became every day more plentiful in England, as well as in the rest of Europe; and the price of all commodities and provisions rose to a height beyond what had been known since the declension of the Roman empire. As the revenue of the crown rose not in proportion[1], the prince was insensibly reduced to poverty amidst the general riches of his subjects, and required additional funds, in order to support the same magnificence and force which had been maintained by former monarchs. But, while money thus flowed into England, we may observe, that, at the same time, and probably from that very cause, arts and industry of all kinds received a mighty increase; and elegance

---

[1] Besides the great alienation of the crown lands, the fee farm rents never increased, and the other lands were let on long leases, and at a great undervalue, little or nothing above the old rent.

CHAP. XLVI. 1610.

in every enjoyment of life became better known, and more cultivated among all ranks of people. The king's servants, both civil and military, his courtiers, his ministers, demanded more ample supplies from the impoverished prince, and were not contented with the same simplicity of living which had satisfied their ancestors. The prince himself began to regard an increase of pomp and splendour as requisite to support the dignity of his character, and to preserve the same superiority above his subjects, which his predecessors had enjoyed. Some equality, too, and proportion to the other sovereigns of Europe, it was natural for him to desire; and as they had universally enlarged their revenue, and multiplied their taxes, the King of England deemed it reasonable that his subjects, who were generally as rich as theirs, should bear with patience some additional burthens and impositions.

Unhappily for the king, those very riches, with the increasing knowledge of the age, bred opposite sentiments in his subjects; and, begetting a spirit of freedom and independence, disposed them to pay little regard either to the entreaties or menaces of their sovereign. While the barons possessed their former immense property and extensive jurisdictions, they were apt, at every disgust, to endanger the monarch, and throw the whole government into confusion: but this confusion often, in its turn, proved favourable to the monarch, and made the nation again submit to him in order to re-establish justice and tranquillity. After the power of alienations, as well as the increase of commerce, had thrown the balance of property into the hands of the Commons, the situation of affairs, and the dispositions of men, became susceptible of a more regular plan of liberty; and the laws were not supported singly by the authority of the sovereign. And though in that interval, after the decline of the Peers, and before the people had experienced their force, the princes assumed an exorbitant power, and had almost annihilated the constitution under the weight of their prerogative; as soon as the Commons recovered from their lethargy, they seemed to have been astonished at the danger, and were resolved to secure liberty by firmer barriers than their ancestors had hitherto provided for it.

Had James possessed a very rigid frugality, he might

1610.

have warded off this crisis somewhat longer; and, waiting patiently for a favourable opportunity to increase and fix his revenue, might have secured the extensive authority transmitted to him. On the other hand, had the Commons been inclined to act with more generosity and kindness towards their prince, they might probably have turned his necessities to good account, and have bribed him to depart peaceably from the more dangerous articles of his prerogative. But he was a foreigner, and ignorant of the arts of popularity; they were soured by religious prejudices, and tenacious of their money: and in this situation, it is no wonder that, during this whole reign, we scarcely find an interval of mutual confidence and friendship between prince and Parliament.

The king, by his prerogative alone, had some years before altered the rates of the customs, and had established higher impositions on several kinds of merchandize. This exercise of power will naturally, to us, appear arbitrary and illegal; yet, according to the principles and practices of that time, it might admit of some apology. The duties of tonnage and poundage were at first granted to the crown by a vote of Parliament, and for a limited time; and as the grant frequently expired and was renewed, there could not then arise any doubt concerning the origin of the king's right to levy these duties; and this imposition, like all others, was plainly derived from the voluntary consent of the people. But as Henry V. and all the succeeding sovereigns had the revenue conferred on them for life, the prince, so long in possession of these duties, began gradually to consider them as his own proper right and inheritance, and regarded the vote of Parliament as a mere formality, which rather expressed the acquiescence of the people in his prerogative, than bestowed any new gift or revenue upon him.

The Parliament, when it first granted poundage to the crown, had fixed no particular rates: the imposition was given as a shilling in the pound, or five *per cent.* on all commodities: it was left to the king himself, and the privy council, aided by the advice of such merchants as they should think proper to consult, to fix the value of goods, and thereby the rates of the customs. And as that value had been settled before the discovery of the

West Indies, it was become much inferior to the prices which almost all commodities bore in every market in Europe; and consequently, the customs on many goods, though supposed to be five *per cent.*, was in reality much inferior. The king, therefore, was naturally led to think that rates, which were now plainly false, ought to be corrected[m]; that a valuation of commodities, fixed by one act of the privy council, might be amended by another; that if his right to poundage were inherent in the crown, he should also possess, of himself, the right of correcting its inequalities; if this duty were granted by the people, he should at least support the spirit of the law, by fixing a new and a juster valuation of all commodities. But besides this reasoning, which seems plausible, if not solid, the king was supported in that act of power by direct precedents, some in the reign of Mary, some in the beginning of Elizabeth[n]. Both these princesses had, without consent of Parliament, altered the rates of commodities; and as their impositions had, all along, been submitted to without a murmur, and still continued to be levied, the king had no reason to apprehend that a farther exertion of the same authority would give any occasion of complaint. That less umbrage might be taken, he was moderate in the new rates which he established. The customs during his whole reign, rose only from one hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds a year to one hundred and ninety thousand; though, besides the increase of the rates, there was a sensible increase of commerce and industry during that period. Every commodity, besides, which might serve to the subsistence of the people, or might be considered as a material of manufactures, was exempted from the new impositions of James[o]. But all this caution could not prevent the complaints of the Commons. A spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the House: the leading members, men of an independent genius and large views, began to regulate their opinions, more by the future consequences which they foresaw, than by the former precedents which were set before them; and they less aspired at maintaining the

CHAP. XLVI.
1610.

---

[m] Winwood, vol. ii. p. 438.

[n] Journ. 18th April, 5th and 10th May, 1614, &c. 20th February, 1625. See also Sir John Davis's question concerning impositions, p. 127, 128.

[o] Sir John Davis's question concerning impositions.

CHAP. XLVI. 1610.

ancient constitution, than at establishing a new one, and a freer and a better. In their remonstrances to the king on this occasion, they observed it to be a general opinion, *That the reasons of that practice might be extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of the kingdom, and the subjects' right of property in their lands and goods*[p]. Though expressly forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they passed a bill abolishing these impositions; which was rejected by the House of Lords.

In another address to the king, they objected to the practice of borrowing upon privy seals, and desired that the subjects should not be forced to lend money to his majesty nor give a reason for their refusal. Some murmurs likewise were thrown out in the House against a new monopoly of the licence of wines[q]. It must be confessed that forced loans and monopolies were established on many and ancient as well as recent precedents; though diametrically opposite to all the principles of a free government[r].

The House likewise discovered some discontent against the king's proclamations. James told them, *That though he well knew, by the constitution and policy of the kingdom, that proclamations were not of equal force with laws; yet he thought it a duty incumbent on him, and a power inseparably annexed to the crown, to restrain and prevent such mischiefs and inconveniences as he saw growing on the state, against which no certain law was extant, and which might tend to the great detriment of the subject, if there should be no remedy provided till the meeting of a Parliament. And this prerogative*, he adds, *our progenitors have, in all times, used and enjoyed*[s]. The intervals between sessions, we may observe, were frequently so long, as to render it necessary for a prince to interpose by his prerogative. The legality of this exertion was established by uniform and undisputed practice; and was even acknowledged by lawyers, who made, however, this difference between laws and proclamations, that the authority of the former was perpetual, that of the latter expired with the sovereign who emitted them[t]. But what the authority could be,

---

[p] Journ. 23d May, 1610.

[q] Parliament. Hist. vol. v. p. 241.

[r] See note [G G], at the end of the volume.

[s] Parliament. Hist. vol. v. p. 250.

[t] Journ. 12th May, 1624.

CHAP. XLVI. 1610.

which bound the subject, yet was different from the authority of laws, and inferior to it, seems inexplicable by any maxims of reason or politics: and in this instance, as in many others, it is easy to see how inaccurate the English constitution was, before the Parliament was enabled, by continued acquisitions or encroachments, to establish it on fixed principles of liberty.

Upon the settlement of the reformation, that extensive branch of power which regards ecclesiastical matters, being then without an owner, seemed to belong to the first occupant; and Henry VIII. failed not immediately to seize it, and to exert it even to the utmost degree of tyranny. The possession of it was continued with Edward, and recovered by Elizabeth; and that ambitious princess was so remarkably jealous of this flower of her crown, that she severely reprimanded the Parliament, if they ever presumed to intermeddle in these matters; and they were so overawed by her authority, as to submit, and to ask pardon on these occasions. But James's Parliaments were much less obsequious. They ventured to lift up their eyes, and to consider this prerogative. They there saw a large province of government, possessed by the king alone, and scarcely ever communicated with the Parliament. They were sensible that this province admitted not of an exact boundary or circumscription. They had felt that the Roman pontiff in former ages, under pretence of religion, was gradually making advances to usurp the whole civil power. They dreaded still more dangerous consequences from the claims of their own sovereign, who resided among them, and who, in many other respects, possessed such unlimited authority. They therefore deemed it absolutely necessary to circumscribe this branch of prerogative; and accordingly, in the preceding session, they passed a bill against the establishment of any ecclesiastical canons without consent of Parliament[u]. But the House of Lords, as is usual, defended the barriers of the throne, and rejected the bill.

In this session the Commons, after passing anew the same bill, made remonstrances against the proceedings of the *high commission court*[w]. It required no great

---

[u] Journ. 2d, 11th December; 5th March, 1606.
[w] Parliament. Hist. vol. v. p. 247. Kennet, p. 681.

1610.

penetration to see the extreme danger to liberty, arising in a regal government, from such large discretionary powers as were exercised by that court. But James refused compliance with the application of the Commons. He was probably sensible that, besides the diminution of his authority, many inconveniences must necessarily result from the abolishing of all discretionary power in every magistrate; and that the laws, were they ever so carefully framed and digested, could not possibly provide against every contingency; much less, where they had not, as yet, attained a sufficient degree of accuracy and refinement.

But the business which chiefly occupied the Commons during this session, was the abolition of wardships and purveyance; prerogatives which had been more or less touched on, every session, during the whole reign of James. In this affair, the Commons employed the proper means which might entitle them to success: they offered the king a settled revenue, as an equivalent for the powers which he should part with; and the king was willing to hearken to terms. After much dispute, he agreed to give up these prerogatives for two hundred thousand pounds a year, which they agreed to confer upon him[x]. And nothing remained, towards closing the bargain, but that the Commons should determine the funds by which this sum should be levied. This session was too far advanced to bring so difficult a matter to a full conclusion; and though the Parliament met again, towards the end of the year, and resumed the question, they were never able to terminate an affair upon which they

---

[x] We learn from Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 193, the reason assigned for this particular sum. "From thence my lord treasurer came to the price; and here he said, that the king would no more rise and fall like a merchant. That he would not have a flower of his crown (meaning the court of wards) so much tossed; that it was too dainty to be so handled; and then he said, that he must deliver the very countenance and character of the king's mind out of his own handwriting: which, before he read, he said he would acquaint us with a pleasant conceit of his majesty. As concerning the number of nine score thousand pounds, which was our number, he could not affect, because nine was the number of the poets, who were always beggars, though they served so many muses; and eleven was the number of the apostles, when the traitor Judas was away; and therefore might best be affected by his majesty: but there was a mean number which might accord us both; and *that was ten*: which, says my lord treasurer, is a sacred number; for so many were God's commandments, which tend to virtue and edification." If the Commons really voted twenty thousand pounds a year more on account of this *pleasant conceit* of the king and the treasurer, it was certainly the best paid wit for its goodness that ever was in the world.

1610.

seemed so intent. The journals of that session are lost; and as the historians of this reign are very negligent in relating parliamentary affairs, of whose importance they were not sufficiently apprized, we know not exactly the reason of this failure. It only appears, that the king was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the Parliament, and soon after dissolved it. This was his first Parliament, and it sat near seven years.

Amidst all these attacks, some more, some less violent, on royal prerogative, the king displayed, as openly as ever, all his exalted notions of monarchy and the authority of princes. Even in a speech to the Parliament, where he begged for a supply, and where he should naturally have used every art to ingratiate himself with that assembly, he expressed himself in these terms: "I conclude, then, the point touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that, as to dispute *what God may do*, is blasphemy, but *what God wills*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss, so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content, that my power be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to *my* laws[y]." Notwithstanding the great extent of prerogative in that age, these expressions would probably give some offence. But we may observe, that as the king's despotism was more speculative than practical, so the independency of the Commons was, at this time, the reverse; and though strongly supported by their present situation, as well as disposition, was too new and recent to be as yet founded on systematical principles and opinions[z].

3d May. Death of the French king.

This year was distinguished by a memorable event, which gave great alarm and concern in England; the murder of the French monarch by the poniard of the fanatical Ravaillac. With his death, the glory of the French monarchy suffered an eclipse for some years; and as that kingdom fell under an administration weak and bigoted, factious and disorderly, the Austrian greatness began anew to appear formidable to Europe. In

---

[y] K. James's Works, p. 531.

[z] See note [HH], at the end of the volume.

1610. England, the antipathy to the Catholics revived a little upon this tragical event; and some of the laws which had formerly been enacted, in order to keep these religionists in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigour and severity[a].

1611. Though James's timidity and indolence fixed him, during most of his reign, in a very prudent inattention to foreign affairs, there happened this year an event in Europe of such mighty consequence, as to rouse him from his lethargy, and summon up all his zeal and enterprise. A professor of divinity, named Vorstius, the disciple of Arminius, was called from a German to a Dutch university; and as he differed from his Britannic majesty in some nice questions concerning the intimate essence and secret decrees of God, he was considered as a dangerous rival in scholastic fame, and was at last obliged to yield to the legions of that royal doctor, whose syllogisms he might have refuted or eluded. If vigour was wanting in other incidents of James's reign, here he behaved even with haughtiness and insolence; and the states were obliged, after several remonstrances, to deprive Vorstius of his chair, and to banish him their dominions[b]. The king carried no farther his animosity against that professor; though he had very charitably hinted to the states, *That, as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own Christian wisdom; but surely never heretic better deserved the flames*[c]. It is to be remarked that, at this period, all over Europe, except in Holland alone, the practice of burning heretics still prevailed, even in Protestant countries; and instances were not wanting in England during the reign of James.

Arminianism.

To consider James in a more advantageous light, we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland; and most of the institutions, which he had framed for civilizing that kingdom, being finished about this period, it may not here be improper to give some account of them. He frequently boasts of the management of Ireland as his masterpiece; and it will appear, upon inquiry, that his vanity, in this particular, was not altogether without foundation.

After the subjection of Ireland by Elizabeth, the more

---

[a] Kennet, p. 684. [b] Ibid. p. 715. [c] K. James's Works, p. 355.

1612. State of Ireland.

difficult task still remained; to civilize the inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan; and in the space of nine years, according to Sir John Davis, he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom, than had been made in the four hundred and forty years which had elapsed since the conquest was first attempted [d].

It was previously necessary to abolish the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws, and which were calculated to keep that people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder.

By the *Brehon* law or custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished, not with death, but by a fine, or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder itself, as among all the ancient barbarous nations, was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate or value affixed to him, which if any one were willing to pay, he needed not fear assassinating his enemy. This rate was called his *eric.* When Sir William Fitzwilliams, being lord-deputy, told Maguire, that he was to send a sheriff into Fermannah, which, a little before, had been made a county, and subjected to the English law: *Your sheriff,* said Maguire, *shall be welcome to me: but let me know, beforehand, his* eric, *or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county* [e]. As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, so little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redress for such offences could ever be obtained.

The customs of *Gavelkinde* and *Tanistry* were attended with the same absurdity in the distribution of property. The land, by the custom of gavelkinde, was divided among all the males of the sept, or family, both bastard and legitimate: and, after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons, but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands, belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share [f]. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed

---

[d] King James's Works, p. 259, edit. 1613.

[e] Sir John Davis, p. 166.

[f] Ibid. p. 167.

CHAP. XLVI. 1612.

the fixed property of any land, to build, to plant, to enclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour.

The chieftains and the tanists, though drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were established by election, or, more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority was almost absolute; and, notwithstanding that certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure [g]. Hence arose that common byword among the Irish, *That they dwelt westward of the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow;* meaning the country where the English inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compass of twenty miles, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin [h].

After abolishing these Irish customs, and substituting English law in their place, James, having taken all the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil.

A small army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay transmitted from England, in order to keep the soldiers from preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. When Odoghartie raised an insurrection, a reinforcement was sent over, and the flames of that rebellion were immediately extinguished.

All minds being first quieted by a general indemnity [i], circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished [k]. As the Irish had been universally engaged in the rebellion against Elizabeth, a resignation of all the rights, which had been formerly granted them to separate jurisdictions, was rigorously exacted; and no authority, but that of the king and the law, was permitted throughout the kingdom [l].

A resignation of all private estates was even required; and when they were restored, the proprietors received them under such conditions as might prevent, for the future, all tyranny and oppression over the common

---

[g] Sir John Davis, p. 173.
[h] Ibid. p. 237.
[i] Ibid. p. 263.
[k] Ibid. p. 264, 265, &c.
[l] Ibid. p. 276.

1612.

people. The value of the dues, which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals, was estimated at a fixed sum, and all farther arbitrary exactions prohibited under severe penalties [m].

The whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London, for planting new colonies in that fertile country: the property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres: tenants were brought over from England and Scotland: the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country: husbandry and the arts were taught them: a fixed habitation secured: plunder and robbery punished: and, by these means, Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most civilized [n].

Such were the arts by which James introduced humanity and justice among a people who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism. Noble cares! much superior to the vain and criminal glory of conquests, but requiring ages of perseverance and attention to perfect what had been so happily begun.

A laudable act of justice was, about this time, executed in England upon Lord Sanquhir, a Scottish nobleman, who had been guilty of the base assassination of Turner, a fencing-master. The English nation, who were generally dissatisfied with the Scots, were enraged at this crime, equally mean and atrocious; but James appeased them, by preferring the severity of law to the intercession of the friends and family of the criminal [o].

[m] Sir John Davis, p. 278.

[n] Ibid. p. 280.

[o] Kennet, p. 688.

CHAPTER XLVII.

DEATH OF PRINCE HENRY.—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH WITH THE PALATINE.—RISE OF SOMERSET.—HIS MARRIAGE.—OVERBURY POISONED.—FALL OF SOMERSET.—RISE OF BUCKINGHAM.—CAUTIONARY TOWNS DELIVERED.—AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

CHAP. XLVII.

1612. Nov. 6th. Death of Prince Henry.

THIS year the sudden death of Henry, prince of Wales, diffused an universal grief throughout the nation. Though youth and royal birth, both of them strong allurements, prepossess men mightily in favour of the early age of princes, it is with peculiar fondness that historians mention Henry; and, in every respect, his merit seems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and he already possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had seduced him into any irregular pleasures: business and ambition seem to have been his sole passion. His inclinations, as well as exercises, were martial. The French ambassador, taking leave of him, and asking his commands for France, found him employed in the exercise of the pike; *Tell your king*, said he, *in what occupation you left me engaged*[a]. He had conceived great affection and esteem for the brave Sir Walter Raleigh. It was his saying, *Sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage*[b]. He seems indeed to have nourished too violent a contempt for the king on account of his pedantry and pusillanimity, and by that means struck in with the restless and martial spirit of the English nation. Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of his people. The unhappy prepossession, which men commonly entertain in favour of ambition, courage, enter-

---

[a] The French monarch had given particular orders to his ministers to cultivate the prince's friendship; who must soon, said he, have chief authority in England, where the king and queen are held in so little estimation. See *Dep. de la Boderie*, vol. i. p. 402. 415; vol. ii. p. 16. 349.

[b] Coke's Detection, p. 37.

1612.

prise, and other warlike virtues, engages generous natures, who always love fame, into such pursuits as destroy their own peace, and that of the rest of mankind.

Violent reports were propagated, as if Henry had been carried off by poison; but the physicians, on opening his body, found no symptoms to confirm such an opinion[c]. The bold and criminal malignity of men's tongues and pens spared not even the king on the occasion. But that prince's character seems rather to have failed in the extreme of facility and humanity, than in that of cruelty and violence. His indulgence to Henry was great, and perhaps imprudent, by giving him a large and independent settlement, even in so early youth.

1613.

Feb. 14. Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Palatine.

The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, with Frederic, Elector Palatine, was finished some time after the death of the prince, and served to dissipate the grief which arose on that melancholy event. But this marriage, though celebrated with great joy and festivity, proved itself an unhappy event to the king, as well as to his son-in-law, and had ill consequences on the reputation and fortunes of both. The elector, trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprises beyond his strength; and the king, not being able to support him in his distress, lost entirely, in the end of his life, what remained of the affection and esteem of his own subjects.

Rise of Somerset

Except during sessions of Parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court than that of the nation. An interesting object had, for some years, engaged the attention of the court; it was a favourite, and one beloved by James with so profuse and unlimited an affection, as left no room for any rival or competitor. About the end of the year 1609, Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks: all his acquired abilities, in an easy air and graceful demeanour. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman Lord Hay; and that nobleman no sooner cast his eye upon him, than he discovered talents sufficient to entitle him immediately to make a great figure in the government.

---

[c] Kennet, p. 690. Coke, p. 37. Welwood, p. 272.

1613.

Apprized of the king's passion for youth and beauty, and exterior appearance, he studied how matters might be so managed that this new object should make the strongest impression upon him. Without mentioning him at court, he assigned him the office, at a match of tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device, and hoped that he would attract the attention of the monarch. Fortune proved favourable to his design, by an incident which bore at first a contrary aspect. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horse flung him, and broke his leg in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern: love and affection arose on the sight of his beauty and tender years; and the prince ordered him immediately to be lodged in the palace, and to be carefully attended. He himself, after the tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and frequently returned during his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the boy finished the conquest, begun by his exterior graces and accomplishments. Other princes have been fond of choosing their favourites from among the lower ranks of their subjects, and have reposed themselves on them with the more unreserved confidence and affection, because the object has been beholden to their bounty for every honour and acquisition: James was desirous that his favourite should also derive from him all his sense, experience, and knowledge. Highly conceited of his own wisdom, he pleased himself with the fancy that this raw youth, by his lessons and instructions, would, in a little time, be equal to his sagest ministers, and be initiated into all the profound mysteries of government, on which he set so high a value. And as this kind of creation was more perfectly his own work than any other, he seems to have indulged an unlimited fondness for his minion, beyond even that which he bore to his own children. He soon knighted him, created him Viscount Rochester, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy council, and, though at first without assigning him any particular office, bestowed on him the supreme direction of all his business and political concerns. Agreeable to this rapid advancement in confidence and honour, were the riches heaped upon the needy favourite; and while Salisbury and all the wisest ministers could scarcely

1613.

find expedients sufficient to keep in motion the overburdened machine of government, James, with unsparing hand, loaded with treasures this insignificant and useless pageant[d].

It is said, that the king found his pupil so ill educated, as to be ignorant even of the lowest rudiments of the Latin tongue; and that the monarch, laying aside the sceptre, took the birch into his royal hand, and instructed him in the principles of grammar. During the intervals of this noble occupation, affairs of state would be introduced; and the stripling, by the ascendant which he had acquired, was now enabled to repay in political, what he had received in grammatical instruction. Such scenes and such incidents are the more ridiculous, though the less odious, as the passion of James seems not to have contained in it any thing criminal or flagitious. History charges herself willingly with a relation of the great crimes, and still more with that of the great virtues of mankind; but she appears to fall from her dignity, when necessitated to dwell on such frivolous events and ignoble personages.

The favourite was not, at first, so intoxicated with advancement as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the assistance and advice of a friend; and he was more fortunate in his choice, than is usual with such pampered minions. In Sir Thomas Overbury he met with a judicious and sincere counsellor, who, building all hopes of his own preferment on that of the young favourite, endeavoured to instil into him the principles of prudence and discretion. By zealously serving every body, Carre was taught to abate the envy which might attend his sudden elevation; by showing a preference for the English, he learned to escape the prejudices which prevailed against his country; and so long as he was content to be ruled by Overbury's friendly counsels, he enjoyed, what is rare, the highest favour of the prince, without being hated by the people.

To complete the measure of courtly happiness, nought was wanting but a kind mistress; and where high fortune concurred with all the graces of youth and beauty, this circumstance could not be difficult to attain. But it

---

[d] Kennet, p. 685, 686, &c.

CHAP. XLVII. 1613.

was here the favourite met with that rock on which all his fortunes were wrecked, and which plunged him for ever into an abyss of infamy, guilt, and misery.

No sooner had James mounted the throne of England, than he remembered his friendship for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Mary and to his own. Having restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk, he sought the farther pleasure of uniting these families by the marriage of the Earl of Essex with Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he fourteen years of age; and it was thought proper, till both should attain the age of puberty, that he should go abroad and pass some time in his travels[e]. He returned into England after four years' absence, and was pleased to find his countess in the full lustre of beauty, and possessed of the love and admiration of the whole court. But when the earl approached, and claimed the privileges of a husband, he met with nothing but symptoms of aversion and disgust, and a flat refusal of any further familiarities. He applied to her parents, who constrained her to attend him into the country, and to partake of his bed; but nothing could overcome her rigid sullenness and obstinacy, and she still rose from his side without having shared the nuptial pleasures. Disgusted with reiterated denials, he at last gave over the pursuit, and separating himself from her, thenceforth abandoned her conduct to her own will and discretion.

Such coldness and aversion in Lady Essex arose not without an attachment to another object. The favourite had opened his addresses, and had been too successful in making impression on the tender heart of the young countess[f]. She imagined that, so long as she refused the embraces of Essex, she never could be deemed his wife; and that a separation and divorce might still open the way for a new marriage with her beloved Rochester[g]. Though their passion was so violent, and their opportunities of intercourse so frequent, that they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, they

---

[e] Kennet, p. 686.

[f] Ibid. p. 687.

[g] State Trials, vol. i. p. 228.

CHAP. XLVII. 1613.

still lamented their unhappy fate, while the union between them was not entire and indissoluble: and the lover, as well as his mistress, was impatient till their mutual ardour should be crowned by marriage.

So momentous an affair could not be concluded without consulting Overbury, with whom Rochester was accustomed to share all his secrets. While that faithful friend had considered his patron's attachment to the Countess of Essex, merely as an affair of gallantry, he had favoured its progress; and it was partly owing to the ingenious and passionate letters which he dictated, that Rochester had met with such success in his addresses. Like an experienced courtier, he thought that a conquest of this nature would throw a lustre on the young favourite, and would tend still farther to endear him to James, who was charmed to hear of the amours of his court, and listened with attention to every tale of gallantry. But great was Overbury's alarm, when Rochester mentioned his design of marrying the countess; and he used every method to dissuade his friend from so foolish an attempt. He represented how invidious, how difficult an enterprise to procure her a divorce from her husband; how dangerous, how shameful, to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and to bestow favours on the object of a capricious and momentary passion: and, in the zeal of friendship, he went so far as to threaten Rochester, that he would separate himself for ever from him, if he could so far forget his honour and his interest as to prosecute the intended marriage[h].

Rochester had the weakness to reveal this conversation to the Countess of Essex; and when her rage and fury broke out against Overbury, he had also the weakness to enter into her vindictive projects, and to swear vengeance against his friend, for the utmost instance which he could receive of his faithful friendship. Some contrivance was necessary for the execution of their purpose. Rochester addressed himself to the king; and after complaining, that his own indulgence to Overbury had begotten in him a degree of arrogance, which was extremely dis-

---

[h] State Trials, vol. i. p. 235, 236. 252. Franklyn, p. 14.

CHAP. XLVII. 1613.

agreeable, he procured a commission for his embassy to Russia, which he represented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honourable. When consulted by Overbury, he earnestly dissuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himself the office of satisfying the king, if he should be anywise displeased with the refusal[i]. To the king again he aggravated the insolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower, which James intended as a slight punishment for his disobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower was a creature of Rochester's, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpose: he confined Overbury so strictly, that the unhappy prisoner was debarred the sight even of his nearest relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed with him, during near six months which he lived in prison.

April 21st.

This obstacle being removed, the lovers pursued their purpose; and the king himself, forgetting the dignity of his character, and his friendship for the family of Essex, entered zealously into the project of procuring the countess a divorce from her husband. Essex also embraced the opportunity of separating himself from a bad woman, by whom he was hated; and he was willing to favour their success by any honourable expedient. The pretence for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he confessed, that, with regard to the countess, he was conscious of such an infirmity, though he was not sensible of it with regard to any other woman. In her place too, it is said, a young virgin was substituted under a mask, to undergo a legal inspection by a jury of matrons. After such a trial, seconded by court influence, and supported by the ridiculous opinion of fascination or witchcraft, the sentence of divorce was pronounced between the Earl of Essex and his countess[k]. And, to crown the scene, the king, solicitous lest the lady should lose any rank by her new marriage, bestowed on his minion the title of Earl of Somerset.

Notwithstanding this success, the Countess of Somerset was not satisfied, till she should farther satiate her revenge on Overbury; and she engaged her husband, as

---

[i] State Trials, vol. i. p. 236, 237, &c.

[k] Ibid. p. 223, 224, &c. Franklyn's Annals, p. 2, 3, &c.

1613. Overbury poisoned. 16th Sept.

well as her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking him off secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were reiterated by weak poisons; but, at last, they gave him one so sudden and violent, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him[l]. His interment was hurried on with the greatest precipitation; and though a strong suspicion immediately prevailed in the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years after.

The fatal catastrophe of Overbury increased or begot the suspicion, that the Prince of Wales had been carried off by poison, given him by Somerset. Men considered not, that the contrary inference was much juster. If Somerset was so great a novice in this detestable art, that, during the course of five months, a man who was his prisoner, and attended by none but his emissaries, could not be despatched but in so bungling a manner; how could it be imagined that a young prince, living in his own court, surrounded by his own friends and domestics, could be exposed to Somerset's attempts, and be taken off by so subtle a poison, if such a one exist, as could elude the skill of the most experienced physicians?

The ablest minister that James ever possessed, the Earl of Salisbury, was dead[m]; Suffolk, a man of slender capacity, had succeeded him in his office: and it was now his task to supply, from an exhausted treasury, the profusion of James and of his young favourite. The title of baronet, invented by Salisbury, was sold, and two hundred patents of that species of knighthood were disposed of for so many thousand pounds: each rank of nobility had also its price affixed to it[n]: privy seals were circulated, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds; benevolences were exacted, to the amount of fifty-two thousand pounds[o]; and some monopolies of no great value were erected. But all these expedients proved insufficient to supply the king's necessities, even though he began to enter into some schemes for retrenching his expenses[p]. However small the hopes of success, a new Parliament must be summoned, and this dangerous expedient, for such it was now become, once more be put to trial.

---

[l] Kennet, p. 693. State Trials, vol. i. p. 233, 234, &c.

[m] 14th of May, 1612.

[n] Franklyn, p. 11. 33.

[o] Idem, p. 10.

[p] Idem, p. 49.

1614. 5th April. A Parliament.

When the Commons were assembled, they discovered an extraordinary alarm, on account of the rumour which was spread abroad concerning *undertakers*[q]. It was reported that several persons, attached to the king, had entered into a confederacy; and having laid a regular plan for the new elections, had distributed their interest all over England, and had undertaken to secure a majority for the court. So ignorant were the Commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first infallible symptom of any regular or established liberty. Had they been contented to follow the maxims of their predecessors, who, as the Earl of Salisbury said to the last Parliament, never but thrice in six hundred years refused a supply[r], they needed not dread that the crown should ever interest itself in their elections. Formerly the kings even insisted, that none of their household should be elected members; and though the charter was afterwards declared void, Henry VI., from his great favour to the city of York, conferred a peculiar privilege on its citizens, that they should be exempted from this trouble[s]. It is well known, that, in ancient times, a seat in the House being considered as a burden, attended neither with honour nor profit, it was requisite for the counties and boroughs to pay fees to their representatives. About this time a seat began to be regarded as an honour, and the country gentlemen contended for it; though the practice of levying wages for the Parliament-men was not altogether discontinued. It was not till long after, when liberty was thoroughly established, and popular assemblies entered into every branch of public business, that the members began to join profit to honour, and the crown found it necessary to distribute among them all the considerable offices of the kingdom.

So little skill or so small means had the courtiers, in

---

[q] Parliam. Hist. vol. v. p. 286. Kennet, p. 696. Journ. 12th April, 2nd May, 1614, &c. Franklyn, p. 48.

[r] Journ. 17th Feb. 1609. It appears, however, that Salisbury was somewhat mistaken in this fact; and if the kings were not oftener refused supply by the Parliament, it was only because they would not often expose themselves to the hazard of being refused; but it is certain that English Parliaments did anciently carry their frugality to an extreme, and seldom could be prevailed on to give the necessary support to government.

[s] Coke's Institutes, part 4. chap. 1. of Charters of Exemption.

1614.

James's reign, for managing elections, that this House of Commons showed rather a stronger spirit of liberty than the foregoing; and instead of entering upon the business of supply, as urged by the king, who made them several liberal offers of grace[t], they immediately resumed the subject which had been opened last Parliament, and disputed his majesty's power of levying new customs and impositions by the mere authority of his prerogative. It is remarkable that, in their debates on this subject, the courtiers frequently pleaded, as a precedent, the example of all the other hereditary monarchs in Europe, and particularly mentioned the Kings of France and Spain; nor was this reasoning received by the House either with surprise or indignation[u]: the members of the opposite party either contented themselves with denying the justness of the inference, or they disputed the truth of the observation[w]; and a patriot member in particular, Sir Roger Owen, even in arguing against the impositions, frankly allowed that the King of England was endowed with as ample a power and prerogative as any prince in Christendom[x]. The nations on the continent, we may observe, enjoyed still, in that age, some small remains of liberty, and the English were possessed of little more.

The Commons applied to the Lords for a conference with regard to the new impositions. A speech of Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, reflecting on the Lower House, begat some altercation with the Peers[y]; and the king seized the opportunity of dissolving, immediately, with great indignation, a Parliament, which had shown so firm a resolution of retrenching his prerogative, without communicating, in return, the smallest supply to his necessities. He carried his resentment so far as even to throw into prison some of the members, who had been the most forward in their opposition to his measures[z]. In vain did he plead, in excuse for this violence, the example of Elizabeth and other princes of the line of Tudor, as well as Plantagenet. The people and the Parliament, without abandoning for ever all their liberties and privileges, could acquiesce in none of these precedents, how ancient

6th June.

---

[t] Journ. 11th April, 1614.

[u] Journ. 21st May, 1614.

[w] Journ. 12th, 21st May, 1614.

[x] Journ. 18th April, 1614.

[y] See note [I I], at the end of the volume.

[z] Kennet, p. 696.

CHAP. XLVII. 1614.

and frequent soever; and were the authority of such precedents admitted, the utmost that could be inferred is, that the constitution of England was, at that time, an inconsistent fabric, whose jarring and discordant parts must soon destroy each other, and, from the dissolution of the old, beget some new form of civil government more uniform and consistent.

In the public and avowed conduct of the king and the House of Commons, throughout this whole reign, there appears sufficient cause of quarrel and mutual disgust; yet are we not to imagine, that this was the sole foundation of that jealousy which prevailed between them. During debates in the House, it often happened, that a particular member, more ardent and zealous than the rest, would display the highest sentiments of liberty, which the Commons contented themselves to hear with silence and seeming approbation; and the king, informed of these harangues, concluded the whole House to be infected with the same principles, and to be engaged in a combination against his prerogative. The king, on the other hand, though he valued himself extremely on his king-craft, and perhaps was not altogether incapable of dissimulation, seems to have been very little endowed with the gift of secrecy; but openly, at his table, in all companies, inculcated those monarchical tenets which he had so strongly imbibed. Before a numerous audience, he had expressed himself with great disparagement of the common law of England, and had given the preference, in the strongest terms, to the civil law: and for this indiscretion he found himself obliged to apologize, in a speech to the former Parliament[a]. As a specimen of his usual liberty of talk, we may mention a story, though it passed some time after, which we meet with in the life of Waller, and which that poet used frequently to repeat. When Waller was young, he had the curiosity to go to court; and he stood in the circle, and saw James dine; where, among other company, there sat at table two bishops, Neile and Andrews. The king proposed aloud this question, whether he might not take his subjects' money when he needed it, without all this formality of Parliament? Neile replied, *God forbid you should*

---

[a] King James's Works, p. 532.

1614.

not: for you are the breath of our nostrils. Andrews declined answering, and said, he was not skilled in parliamentary cases: but upon the king's urging him, and saying he would admit of no evasion, the bishop replied pleasantly, *Why then I think your majesty may lawfully take my brother Neile's money: for he offers it*[b].

1615. Somerset's fall.

The favourite had hitherto escaped the inquiry of justice; but he had not escaped that still voice which can make itself be heard amidst all the hurry and flattery of a court, and astonishes the criminal with a just representation of his most secret enormities. Conscious of the murder of his friend, Somerset received small consolation from the enjoyments of love, or the utmost kindness and indulgence of his sovereign. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared, the gaiety of his manners was obscured, his politeness and obliging behaviour were changed into sullenness and silence. And the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to estrange himself from a man who no longer contributed to his amusement.

The sagacious courtiers observed the first symptoms of this disgust: Somerset's enemies seized the opportunity, and offered a new minion to the king. George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time from his travels, and was remarked for the advantages of a handsome person, genteel air, and fashionable apparel. At a comedy, he was purposely placed full in James's eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and, in the same instant, the affections of that monarch[c]. Ashamed of his sudden attachment, the king endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal the partiality which he felt for the handsome stranger; and he employed all his profound politics to fix him in his service, without seeming to desire it. He declared his resolution not to confer any office on him, unless entreated by the queen; and he pretended, that it should only be in complaisance to her choice he would agree to admit him near his person. The queen was immediately applied to; but she, well knowing the extreme to which the king carried these attachments, refused, at first, to lend her countenance to this new passion. It was not till entreated

---

[b] Preface to Waller's Works.

[c] Franklyn, p. 50. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 698.

1615.

by Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, a decent prelate, and one much prejudiced against Somerset, that she would condescend to oblige her husband, by asking this favour of him[d]. And the king, thinking now that all appearances were fully saved, no longer constrained his affection, but immediately bestowed the office of cup-bearer on young Villiers.

The whole court was thrown into parties between the two minions; while some endeavoured to advance the rising fortunes of Villiers, others deemed it safer to adhere to the established credit of Somerset. The king himself, divided between inclination and decorum, increased the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; and the stern jealousy of the old favourite, who refused every advance of friendship from his rival, begat perpetual quarrels between their several partisans. But the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury at last decided the controversy, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he so well merited.

An apothecary's prentice, who had been employed in making up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole secret; and the affair at last came to the ears of Trumbal, the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By his means, Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, was informed, and he immediately carried the intelligence to James. The king, alarmed and astonished to find such enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted into his bosom, sent for Sir Edward Coke, chief justice, and earnestly recommended to him the most rigorous and unbiassed scrutiny. This injunction was executed with great industry and severity: the whole labyrinth of guilt was carefully unravelled: the lesser criminals, Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weston, Mrs. Turner, were first tried and condemned: Somerset and his countess were afterwards found guilty: Northampton's death, a little before, had saved him from a like fate.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that Coke, in the trial of Mrs. Turner, told her that she was guilty of the seven deadly sins: she was a whore, a bawd, a sorcerer, a witch, a papist, a felon, and a murderer[e]. And what may more surprise us, Bacon, then attorney-general, took care to observe, that poisoning was a popish trick[f]. Such were the bigoted prejudices which prevailed: poisoning was not, of itself, sufficiently odious, if it were not represented as a branch of popery. Stowe tells us, that when the king came to Newcastle, on his first entry into England, he gave liberty to all the prisoners, except those who were confined for treason, murder, and *papistry*. When one considers these circumstances, that furious bigotry of the Catholics, which broke out in the gunpowder conspiracy, appears the less surprising.

---

[d] Coke, p. 46. 67. Rush. vol. i. p. 456.

All the accomplices in Overbury's murder received the punishment due to their crime: but the king bestowed a pardon on the principals, Somerset and the countess. It must be confessed, that James's fortitude had been highly laudable, had he persisted in his first intention of consigning over to severe justice all the criminals; but let us still beware of blaming him too harshly, if, on the approach of the fatal hour, he scrupled to deliver into the hands of the executioner, persons whom he had once favoured with his most tender affections. To soften the rigour of their fate, after some years' imprisonment, he restored them to their liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age, in infamy and obscurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred; and they passed many years together in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence with each other[g].

Several historians[h], in relating these events, have insisted much on the dissimulation of James's behaviour, when he delivered Somerset into the hands of the chief justice; on the insolent menaces of that criminal; on his peremptory refusal to stand a trial; and on the extreme anxiety of the king during the whole progress of this affair. Allowing all these circumstances to be true, of which some are suspicious, if not palpably false[i], the great remains of tenderness which James still felt for Somerset may, perhaps, be sufficient to account for them. That favourite was high spirited, and resolute rather to perish, than live under the infamy to which he was exposed. James was sensible that the pardoning of so great a criminal, which was of itself invidious, would become still more unpopular, if his obstinate and stubborn behaviour on his trial should augment the public hatred against him[k]. At least, the unreserved confidence in which the king had indulged his favourite for several years might render Somerset master of so many secrets, that it is impossible, without farther light, to assign the particular reason of that superiority, which, it is said, he appeared so much to assume.

---

[e] State Trials, vol. i. p. 230.

[f] Ibid. vol. i. p. 242.

[g] Kennet, p. 699.

[h] Coke, Weldon, &c.

[i] See Biog. Brit. article Coke, p. 1384.

Rise of Buckingham.

The fall of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for Villiers to mount up at once to the full height of favour, of honours, and of riches. Had James's passion been governed by common rules of prudence, the office of cup-bearer would have attached Villiers to his person, and might well have contented one of his age and family; nor would any one, who was not cynically austere, have much censured the singularity of the king's choice in his friends and favourites. But such advancement was far inferior to the fortune which he intended for his minion. In the course of a few years he created him Viscount Villiers, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's-bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England[l]. His mother obtained the title of Countess of Buckingham; his brother was created Viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. And thus the fond prince, while he meant to play the tutor to his favourite, and to train him up in the rules of prudence and politics, took an infallible method, by loading him with premature and exorbitant honours, to render him, for ever, rash, precipitate, and insolent.

A young minion to gratify with pleasure, a necessitous family to supply with riches, were enterprises too great for the empty exchequer of James. In order to obtain

---

[k] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 617.

[l] Franklyn, p. 30. Clarendon, 8vo edit. vol. i. p. 10.

1616.

a little money, the cautionary towns must be delivered up to the Dutch; a measure which has been severely blamed by almost all historians; and I may venture to affirm, that it has been censured much beyond its real weight and importance.

Cautionary towns delivered.

When Queen Elizabeth advanced money for the support of the infant republic, besides the view of securing herself against the power and ambition of Spain, she still reserved the prospect of reimbursement; and she got consigned into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins, as pledges for the money due to her. Indulgent to the necessitous condition of the states, she agreed that the debt should bear no interest; and she stipulated, that if ever England should make a separate peace with Spain, she should pay the troops which garrisoned those fortresses [m].

After the truce was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces, the states made an agreement with the king, that the debt, which then amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, should be discharged by yearly payments of forty thousand pounds; and as five years had elapsed, the debt was now reduced to six hundred thousand pounds; and in fifteen years more, if the truce were renewed, it would be finally extinguished [n]. But of this sum, twenty-six thousand pounds a year were expended on the pay of the garrisons: the remainder alone accrued to the king: and the states, weighing these circumstances, thought that they made James a very advantageous offer, when they expressed their willingness, on the surrender of the cautionary towns, to pay him immediately two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and to incorporate the English garrisons in their army. It occurred also to the king, that even the payment of the forty thousand pounds a year was precarious, and depended on the accident that the truce should be renewed between Spain and the republic: if war broke out, the maintenance of the garrisons lay upon England alone; a burden very useless, and too heavy for the slender revenues of that kingdom: that even during the truce, the Dutch, straitened by other expenses, were far from being

---

[m] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 341. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 351.

[n] Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters, p. 27, 28.

1616. regular in their payments; and the garrisons were at present in danger of mutinying for want of subsistence: that the annual sum of fourteen thousand pounds, the whole saving on the Dutch payments, amounted, in fifteen years, to no more than two hundred and ten thousand pounds; whereas two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were offered immediately, a larger sum, and if money be computed at ten per cent. the current interest, more than double the sum to which England was entitled [o]: that if James waited till the whole debt were discharged, the troops, which composed the garrisons, remained a burden upon him, and could not be broken, without receiving some consideration for their past services: that the cautionary towns were only a temporary restraint upon the Hollanders; and in the present emergence, the conjunction of interest between England and the republic was so intimate as to render all other ties superfluous; and no reasonable measures for mutual support would be wanting from the Dutch, even though freed from the dependence of these garrisons: that the exchequer of the republic was at present very low, insomuch that they found difficulty, now that the aids of France were withdrawn, to maintain themselves in that posture of defence which was requisite during the truce with Spain: and that the Spaniards were perpetually insisting with the king on the restitution of these towns, as belonging to their crown; and no cordial alliance could ever be made with that nation, while they remained in the hands of the English [p]. These reasons, together with his urgent wants, induced the king to accept of Caron's offer; and he evacuated the cautionary towns, which held the states in a degree of subjection, and which an ambitious and enterprising prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

6th June.

1617. Affairs of Scotland.

When the crown of England devolved on James, it might have been foreseen by the Scottish nation, that the independence of their kingdom, the object for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would now be lost; and that, if both states persevered in maintaining separate laws and Parliaments, the weaker would more sensibly feel the subjection, than if it had been totally subdued by force of arms. But these views did not generally occur. The glory of having given a sovereign to their powerful enemy, the advantages of present peace and tranquillity, the riches acquired from the munificence of their master; these considerations secured their dutiful obedience to a prince, who daily gave such sensible proofs of his friendship and partiality towards them. Never had the authority of any king, who resided among them, been so firmly established as was that of James, even when absent; and as the administration had been hitherto conducted with great order and tranquillity, there had happened no occurrence to draw thither our attention. But this summer, the king was resolved to pay a visit to his native country, in order to renew his ancient friendships and connexions, and to introduce that change of ecclesiastical discipline and government, on which he was extremely intent. The three chief points of this kind, which James proposed to accomplish by his journey to Scotland, were, the enlarging of episcopal authority, the establishing of a few ceremonies in public worship, and the fixing of a superiority in the civil above the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. May.

---

[o] An annuity of fourteen thousand pounds during fifteen years, money being at ten per cent. is worth on computation only one hundred and six thousand five hundred pounds, whereas the king received two hundred and fifty thousand. Yet the bargain was good for the Dutch, as well as the king, because they were both of them freed from the maintenance of useless garrisons.

[p] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 3.

But it is an observation suggested by all history, and by none more than by that of James and his successor, that the religious spirit, when it mingles with faction, contains in it something supernatural and unaccountable; and that, in its operations upon society, effects correspond less to their known causes, than is found in any other circumstance of government. A reflection which may, at once, afford a source of blame against such sovereigns as lightly innovate in so dangerous an article, and of apology for such as, being engaged in an enterprise of that nature, are disappointed of the expected event, and fail in their undertakings.

When the Scottish nation was first seized with that zeal for reformation, which, though it caused such disturbance during the time, has proved so salutary in the

CHAP. XLVII. 1617.

consequences; the preachers assuming a character little inferior to the prophetic or apostolical, disdained all subjection to the spiritual rulers of the church, by whom their innovations were punished and opposed. The revenues of the dignified clergy, no longer considered as sacred, were either appropriated by the present possessors, or seized by the more powerful barons; and what remained, after mighty dilapidations, was, by act of Parliament, annexed to the crown. The prelates, however, and abbots, maintained their temporal jurisdictions and their seats in Parliament; and though laymen were sometimes endowed with ecclesiastical titles, the church, notwithstanding its frequent protestations to the contrary, was still supposed to be represented by those spiritual lords, in the states of the kingdom. After many struggles, the king, even before his accession to the throne of England, had acquired sufficient influence over the Scottish clergy, to extort from them an acknowledgment of the parliamentary jurisdiction of bishops; though attended with many precautions, in order to secure themselves against the spiritual encroachments of that order[q]. When King of England, he engaged them, though still with great reluctance on their part, to advance a step farther, and to receive the bishops as perpetual presidents or moderators in their ecclesiastical synods; reiterating their protestations against all spiritual jurisdiction of the prelates, and all controlling power over the presbyterians[r]. And by such gradual innovations, the king flattered himself, that he should quietly introduce episcopal authority: but as his final scope was fully seen from the beginning, every new advance gave fresh occasion of discontent, and aggravated, instead of softening, the abhorrence entertained against the prelacy.

What rendered the king's aim more apparent, were the endeavours which, at the same time, he used to introduce into Scotland some of the ceremonies of the church of England: the rest, it was easily foreseen, would soon follow. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty, and inflamed by opposition, had so possessed the minds of the Scottish reformers, that all rites and ornaments, and even order of worship, were disdainfully rejected as

[q] 1598.

[r] 1606.

1617.

useless burdens; retarding the imagination in its rapturous ecstasies, and cramping the operations of that divine spirit, by which they supposed themselves to be animated. A mode of worship was established, the most naked and most simple imaginable; one that borrowed nothing from the senses; but reposed itself entirely on the contemplation of that divine essence, which discovers itself to the understanding only. This species of devotion, so worthy of the Supreme Being, but so little suitable to human frailty, was observed to occasion great disturbances in the breast, and in many respects to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. The mind, straining for these extraordinary raptures, reaching them by short glances, sinking again under its own weakness, rejecting all exterior aid of pomp and ceremony, was so occupied in this inward life, that it fled from every intercourse of society, and from every cheerful amusement, which could soften or humanize the character. It was obvious to all discerning eyes, and had not escaped the king's, that, by the prevalence of fanaticism, a gloomy and sullen disposition established itself among the people; a spirit, obstinate and dangerous; independent and disorderly; animated equally with a contempt of authority, and a hatred to every other mode of religion, particularly to the Catholic. In order to mellow these humours, James endeavoured to infuse a small tincture of ceremony into the national worship, and to introduce such rites as might, in some degree, occupy the mind, and please the senses, without departing too far from that simplicity, by which the reformation was distinguished. The finer arts, too, though still rude in these northern kingdoms, were employed to adorn the churches; and the king's chapel, in which an organ was erected, and some pictures and statues displayed, was proposed as a model to the rest of the nation. But music was grating to the prejudiced ears of the Scottish clergy; sculpture and painting appeared instruments of idolatry; the surplice was a rag of popery; and every motion or gesture prescribed by the liturgy was a step towards that spiritual Babylon, so much the object of their horror and aversion. Every thing was deemed impious, but their own mystical comments on the Scriptures, which they idolized, and whose eastern prophetic style they employed in every common occurrence.

1617.

It will not be necessary to give a particular account of the ceremonies which the king was so intent to establish. Such institutions, for a time, are esteemed either too divine to have proceeded from any other being than the supreme Creator of the universe, or too diabolical to have been derived from any but an infernal demon. But no sooner is the mode of the controversy past, than they are universally discovered to be of so little importance, as scarcely to be mentioned with decency amidst the ordinary course of human transactions. It suffices here to remark, that the rites introduced by James regarded the kneeling at the sacrament, private communion, private baptism, confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals[s]. The acts, establishing these ceremonies, were afterwards known by the name of the Articles of Perth, from the place where they were ratified by the assembly.

A conformity of discipline and worship between the churches of England and Scotland, which was James's aim, he never could hope to establish, but by first procuring an acknowledgment of his own authority in all spiritual causes; and nothing could be more contrary to the practice as well as principles of the presbyterian clergy. The ecclesiastical courts possessed the power of pronouncing excommunication; and that sentence, besides the spiritual consequences supposed to follow from it, was attended with immediate effects of the most important nature. The person excommunicated was shunned by every one as profane and impious; and his whole estate, during his lifetime, and all his movables, for ever, were forfeited to the crown. Nor were the previous steps, requisite before pronouncing this sentence, formal or regular, in proportion to the weight of it. Without accuser, without summons, without trial, any ecclesiastical court, however inferior, sometimes pretended in a summary manner to denounce excommunication for any cause, and against any person, even though he lived not within the bounds of their jurisdiction[t]. And by this means the whole tyranny of the inquisition, though without its order, was introduced into the kingdom.

---

[s] Franklin, p. 25. Spotswood.

[t] Spotswood.

But the clergy were not content with the unlimited jurisdiction which they exercised in ecclesiastical matters: they assumed a censorial power over every part of administration; and, in all their sermons, and even prayers, mingling politics with religion, they inculcated the most seditious and most turbulent principles. Black, minister of St. Andrew's, went so far[u], in a sermon, as to pronounce all kings the devil's children; he gave the Queen of England the appellation of Atheist; he said, that the treachery of the king's heart was now fully discovered; and, in his prayers for the queen, he used these words: *We must pray for her for the fashion's sake, but we have no cause: she will never do us any good.* When summoned before the privy council, he refused to answer to a civil court for any thing delivered from the pulpit, even though the crime of which he was accused was of a civil nature. The church adopted his cause. They raised a sedition in Edinburgh[w]. The king, during some time, was in the hands of the enraged populace; and it was not without courage, as well as dexterity, that he was able to extricate himself[x]. A few days after, a minister, preaching in the principal church of that capital, said, that the king was possessed with a devil; and that one devil being expelled, seven worse had entered in his place[y]. To which he added, that the subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand. Scarcely, even during the darkest night of papal superstition, are there found such instances of priestly encroachments, as the annals of Scotland present to us during that period.

By these extravagant stretches of power, and by the patient conduct of James, the church began to lose ground, even before the king's accession to the throne of England: but no sooner had that event taken place, than he made the Scottish clergy sensible, that he had become the sovereign of a great kingdom, which he governed with great authority. Though formerly he would have thought himself happy to have made a fair partition with them of the civil and ecclesiastical authority, he was now resolved to exert a supreme jurisdiction in church as well

[u] 1596.

[w] 17th Dec. 1596.

[x] Spotswood.

[y] Ibid.

1617. as state, and to put an end to their seditious practices. An assembly had been summoned at Aberdeen[z]: but, on account of his journey to London, he prorogued it to the year following. Some of the clergy, disavowing his ecclesiastical supremacy, met at the time first appointed, notwithstanding his prohibition. He threw them into prison. Such of them as submitted, and acknowledged their error, were pardoned. The rest were brought to their trial. They were condemned for high treason. The king gave them their lives, but banished them the kingdom. Six of them suffered this penalty[a].

The general assembly was afterwards induced[b] to acknowledge the king's authority in summoning ecclesiastical courts, and to submit to the jurisdiction and visitation of the bishops. Even their favourite sentence of excommunication was declared invalid, unless confirmed by the ordinary. The king recommended to the inferior courts the members whom they should elect to this assembly; and every thing was conducted in it with little appearance of choice and liberty[c].

By his own prerogative likewise, which he seems to have stretched on this occasion, the king erected a court of high commission[d], in imitation of that which was established in England. The bishops, and a few of the clergy, who had been summoned, willingly acknowledged this court; and it proceeded immediately upon business, as if its authority had been grounded on the full consent of the whole legislature.

13th June. But James reserved the final blow for the time when he should himself pay a visit to Scotland. He proposed to the Parliament, which was then assembled, that they should enact, that "whatever his majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the force of law[e]." What number should be deemed competent was not determined; and their nomination was left entirely to the king: so that his ecclesiastical authority, had this bill passed, would have been established in its full extent. Some of the clergy protested. They apprehended, they

---

[z] July, 1604.
[a] Spotswood.
[b] 6th June, 1610.
[c] Spotswood.
[d] 15th Feb. 1610.
[e] Spotswood. Franklyn, p. 29.

1617.

said, that the purity of their church, would, by means of this new authority, be polluted with all the rites and liturgy of the church of England. James, dreading clamour and opposition, dropped the bill, which had already passed the lords of articles; and asserted, that the inherent prerogative of the crown contained more power than was recognized by it. Some time after, he called at St. Andrew's a meeting of the bishops, and thirty-six of the most eminent clergy. He there declared his resolution of exerting his prerogative, and of establishing, by his own authority, the few ceremonies which he had recommended to them. They entreated him rather to summon a general assembly, and to gain their assent. An assembly was accordingly summoned to meet on the 25th of November ensuing.

10th July.

Yet this assembly, which met after the king's departure from Scotland, eluded all his applications; and it was not till the subsequent year, that he was able to procure a vote for receiving his ceremonies. And through every step of this affair, in the Parliament, as well as in all the general assemblies, the nation betrayed the utmost reluctance to all these innovations; and nothing but James's importunity and authority had extorted a seeming consent, which was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people. Even the few, over whom religious prejudices were not prevalent, thought national honour sacrificed by a servile imitation of the modes of worship practised in England, and every prudent man agreed in condemning the measures of the king, who, by an ill-timed zeal for insignificant ceremonies, had betrayed, though in an opposite manner, equal narrowness of mind with the persons whom he treated with such contempt. It was judged, that, had not these dangerous humours been irritated by opposition; had they been allowed peaceably to evaporate; they would at last have subsided within the limits of law and civil authority. And that, as all fanatical religions naturally circumscribe to very narrow bounds the numbers and riches of the ecclesiastics; no sooner is their first fire spent, than they lose their credit over the people, and leave them under the natural and beneficent influence of their civil and moral obligations.

At the same time that James shocked, in so violent

CHAP. XLVII. 1617.

a manner, the religious principles of his Scottish subjects, he acted in opposition to those of his English. He had observed in his progress through England, that a Judaical observance of the Sunday, chiefly by means of the puritans, was every day gaining ground throughout the kingdom, and that the people, under colour of religion, were, contrary to former practice, debarred such sports and recreations as contributed both to their health and their amusement[f]. Festivals, which, in other nations and ages, are partly dedicated to public worship, partly to mirth and society, were here totally appropriated to the offices of religion, and served to nourish those sullen and gloomy contemplations, to which the people were, of themselves, so unfortunately subject. The king imagined, that it would be easy to infuse cheerfulness into this dark spirit of devotion. He issued a proclamation to allow and encourage, after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises; and, by his authority, he endeavoured to give sanction to a practice, which his subjects regarded as the utmost instance of profaneness and impiety[g].

---

[f] Kennet, p. 709.

[g] Franklyn, p. 31. To show how rigid the English, chiefly the puritans, were become in this particular, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, in the 18th of the king, for the more strict observance of the Sunday, which they affected to call the Sabbath. One Shepherd opposed this bill, objected to the appellation of Sabbath as puritanical, defended dancing by the example of David, and seems even to have justified sports on that day. For this profaneness he was expelled the House, by the suggestion of Mr. Pym. The House of Lords opposed so far this puritanical spirit of the Commons, that they proposed that the appellation of *Sabbath* should be changed into that of the *Lord's Day*. Journ. 15th, 16th Feb. 1620; 28th May, 1621. In Shepherd's sentence, his offence is said by the House to be great, exorbitant, unparalleled.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION.—HIS EXECUTION.—INSURRECTIONS IN BOHEMIA.—LOSS OF THE PALATINATE.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN.—A PARLIAMENT.—PARTIES.—FALL OF BACON.—RUPTURE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE COMMONS.—PROTESTATION OF THE COMMONS.

CHAP. XLVIII.

1618.
Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition.

AT the time when Sir Walter Raleigh was first confined in the Tower, his violent and haughty temper had rendered him the most unpopular man in England; and his condemnation was chiefly owing to that public odium under which he laboured. During the thirteen years' imprisonment which he suffered, the sentiments of the nation were much changed with regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprising spirit, which languished in the rigours of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amidst naval and military enterprises, had surpassed, in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his History of the World. To increase these favourable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he spread the report of a golden mine which he had discovered in Guiana, and which was sufficient, according to his representation, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The king gave little credit to these mighty promises, both because he believed that no such mine as the one described was any where in nature, and because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortunes, whose business it was, by any means, to procure his freedom, and to reinstate himself in credit and authority. Thinking, however, that he had already undergone sufficient punishment, he released him from the Tower; and when his vaunts of the golden mine had induced

CHAP. XLVIII. 1618.

multitudes to engage with him, the king gave them permission to try the adventure, and, at their desire, he conferred on Raleigh authority over his fellow-adventurers. Though strongly solicited, he still refused to grant him a pardon, which seemed a natural consequence, when he was entrusted with power and command. But James declared himself still diffident of Raleigh's intentions; and he meant, he said, to reserve the former sentence, as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh well knew, that it was far from the king's purpose to invade any of the Spanish settlements: he therefore firmly denied that Spain had planted any colonies on that part of the coast where his mine lay. When Gondomar, the ambassador of that nation, alarmed at his preparations, carried complaints to the king, Raleigh still protested the innocence of his intentions; and James assured Gondomar, that he durst not form any hostile attempt, but should pay with his head for so audacious an enterprise. The minister, however, concluding that twelve armed vessels were not fitted out without some purpose of invasion, conveyed the intelligence to the court of Madrid, who immediately gave orders for arming and fortifying all their settlements, particularly those along the coast of Guiana.

When the courage and avarice of the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered so many new worlds, they were resolved to show themselves superior to the barbarous heathens whom they invaded, not only in arts and arms, but also in the justice of the quarrel: they applied to Alexander VI., who then filled the papal chair; and he generously bestowed on the Spaniards the whole western, and on the Portuguese the whole eastern part of the globe. The more scrupulous Protestants, who acknowledged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, established the first discovery as the foundation of *their* title; and if a pirate or sea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a stick or a stone on the coast, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themselves entitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the ancient possessors and inhabitants. It was in this manner that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had

1618.

acquired to the crown of England a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and though he had immediately left the coast, yet he pretended that the English title to the whole remained certain and indefeasible. But it had happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing, or not acknowledging, this imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oroonoko, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

To this place Raleigh directly bent his course; and remaining himself at the mouth of the river, with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son, and a Captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, *that this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;* and advancing upon the Spaniards received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterwards reduced to ashes; and found not in it any thing of value.

Raleigh did not pretend, that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of: it was Keymis, he said, who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore, which promised such immense treasures; yet Keymis, who owned that he was within two hours' march of the place, refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death, and the ill success of the enterprise. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behaviour, Keymis, in despair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life.

The other adventurers now concluded, that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and having encouraged his company by the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of the

1618.

other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such daring enterprises; and that he trusted to the money he should acquire, for making his peace with England; or, if that view failed him, that he purposed to retire into some other country, where his riches would secure his retreat.

The small acquisitions gained by the sack of St. Thomas discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into these views; though there were many circumstances in the treaty and late transactions between the nations which might invite them to engage in such a piratical war against the Spaniards.

When England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to pass over that article in total silence. The Spaniards having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence in their own favour, and considered it as a tacit acquiescence of England in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the King of Spain's dominions, it was still as lawful for them to trade with his settlements in either Indies, as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England sailed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe punishment when caught; as they, on the other hand, often stole, and, when superior in power, forced a trade with the inhabitants, and resisted, nay, sometimes plundered, the Spanish governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great height on both sides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion; because of the difficulty which was found in remedying them, upon any fixed principles.

But as there appeared a great difference between private adventurers in single ships, and a fleet acting under a royal commission; Raleigh's companions thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. It appears that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements, and failing of that, to make his escape into France: but all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy council. The council, upon inquiry, found no difficulty in pronouncing, that the former suspicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well grounded; that he had abused the king in the representations which he had made of his projected adventure; that, contrary to his instructions, he had acted in an offensive and hostile manner against his majesty's allies; and that he had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to the King of Spain. He might have been tried, either by common law for this act of violence and piracy, or by martial law for breach of orders: but it was an established principle among lawyers[a], that as he lay under an actual attainder for high treason, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. To satisfy, therefore, the court of Spain, which raised the loudest complaints against him, the king made use of that power which he had purposely reserved in his own hands, and signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence[b].

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage: and though he had formerly made use of many mean artifices, such as feigning madness, sickness, and a variety of diseases, in order to protract his examination, and procure his escape, he now resolved to act his part with bravery and resolution. *'Tis a sharp remedy*, he said, *but a sure one for all ills*, when he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded[c]. His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himself, and to load his enemies with the public hatred, by strong asseverations of facts, which, to say the least, may be esteemed very doubtful[d]. With the utmost indifference he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow; and in his death there appeared the same great, but ill-regulated mind, which, during his life, had displayed itself in all his conduct and behaviour.

29th Oct. Raleigh's execution.

---

[a] See this matter discussed in Bacon's Letters, published by Dr. Birch, p. 181.

[b] See note [K K], at the end of the volume.

[c] Franklyn, p. 32.

[d] He asserted, in the most solemn manner, that he had nowise contributed to Essex's death: but the last letter in Murden's Collection contains the strongest proof of the contrary.

CHAP. XLVIII. 1618.

No measure of James's reign was attended with more public dissatisfaction than the punishment of Sir Walter Raleigh. To execute a sentence which was originally so hard, which had been so long suspended, and which seemed to have been tacitly pardoned, by conferring on him a new trust and commission, was deemed an instance of cruelty and injustice. To sacrifice, to a concealed enemy of England, the life of the only man in the nation who had a high reputation for valour and military experience, was regarded as meanness and indiscretion: and the intimate connexions which the king was now entering into with Spain, being universally distasteful, rendered this proof of his complaisance still more invidious and unpopular.

James had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himself, and which had been adopted by none of his predecessors, that any alliance below that of a great king was unworthy of a Prince of Wales; and he never would allow any princess but a daughter of France or Spain to be mentioned as a match for his son[e]. This instance of pride, which really implies meanness, as if he could receive honour from any alliance, was so well known, that Spain had founded on it the hopes of governing, in the most important transactions, this monarch, so little celebrated for politics or prudence. During the life of Henry, the King of Spain had dropped some hints of bestowing on that prince his eldest daughter, whom he afterwards disposed of in marriage to the young King of France, Lewis XIII. At that time the views of the Spaniards were to engage James into a neutrality with regard to the succession of Cleves, which was disputed between the Protestant and popish line[f]: but the bait did not then take; and James, in consequence of his alliance with the Dutch, and with Henry IV. of France, marched[g] four thousand men, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, who joined these two powers, and put the Marquis of Brandenburgh and the Palatine of Newbourg in possession of that duchy.

Gondomar was, at this time, the Spanish ambassador in England; a man whose flattery was the more artful, because covered with the appearance of frankness and

[e] Kennet, p. 703. 748.

[f] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 2.

[g] 1610.

sincerity; whose politics were the more dangerous, because disguised under the mask of mirth and pleasantry. He now made offer of the second daughter of Spain to Prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune, which should attend the princess. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic[h], entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted, and, amidst every disappointment, they still redoubled his hopes of success[i]. The transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became every day a new motive for this duplicity of conduct.

Insurrections in Bohemia.

In that great revolution of manners which happened during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the only nations who had the honourable, though often melancholy advantage of making an effort for their expiring privileges, were such as, together with the principles of civil liberty, were animated with a zeal for religious parties and opinions. Besides the irresistible force of standing armies, the European princes possessed this advantage, that they were descended from the ancient royal families; that they continued the same appellations of magistrates, the same appearance of civil government; and restraining themselves by all the forms of legal administration, could insensibly impose the yoke on their unguarded subjects. Even the German nations, who formerly broke the Roman chains, and restored liberty to mankind, now lost their own liberty, and saw with grief the absolute authority of their princes firmly established among them. In their circumstances, nothing but a pious zeal, which disregards all motives of human prudence, could have made them entertain hopes of preserving any longer those privileges which their ancestors, through so many ages, had transmitted to them.

As the house of Austria, throughout all her extensive dominions, had ever made religion the pretence for her usurpations, she now met with resistance from a like principle; and the Catholic religion, as usual, had ranged itself on the side of monarchy; the Protestant, on that of liberty. The states of Bohemia, having taken arms

---

[h] La Boderie, vol. ii. p. 30.

[i] Franklyn, p. 71.

CHAP. XLVIII. 1618. against the Emperor Matthias, continued their revolt against his successor Ferdinand, and claimed the observance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the new religion, together with the restoration of their ancient laws and constitution. The neighbouring principalities, Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, Austria, even the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and throughout all these populous and martial provinces, the spirit of discord and civil war had universally diffused itself[k].

1619. Ferdinand II., who possessed more vigour and greater abilities, though not more lenity and moderation, than are usual with the Austrian princes, strongly armed himself for the recovery of his authority; and besides employing the assistance of his subjects, who professed the ancient religion, he engaged on his side a powerful alliance of the neighbouring potentates. All the Catholic princes of the empire had embraced his defence; even Saxony, the most powerful of the Protestant: Poland had declared itself in his favour[l]; and, above all, the Spanish monarch, deeming his own interest closely connected with that of the younger branch of his family, prepared powerful succours from Italy, and from the Low Countries; and he also advanced large sums for the support of Ferdinand and of the Catholic religion.

The states of Bohemia, alarmed at these mighty preparations, began also to solicit foreign assistance; and, together with that support which they obtained from the evangelical union in Germany, they endeavoured to establish connexions with greater princes. They cast their eyes on Frederic, Elector Palatine. They considered that, besides commanding no despicable force of his own, he was son-in-law to the King of England, and nephew to Prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces. They hoped that these princes, moved by the connexions of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would interest themselves in all the fortunes of Frederic, and would promote his greatness. They therefore made him a tender of their crown, which they considered as elective; and the young Palatine, stimulated by ambition, without

---

[k] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 7, 8.

[l] Ibid. p. 13, 14.

1619.

consulting either James[m] or Maurice, whose opposition he foresaw, immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, in support of his new subjects.

The news of these events no sooner reached England, than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardour greater, with which all the states of Europe, in former ages, flew to rescue the Holy Land from the dominion of infidels. The nation was, as yet, sincerely attached to the blood of their monarchs, and they considered their connexion with the Palatine, who had married a daughter of England, as very close and intimate; and when they heard of Catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against Protestants, they thought their own interest deeply concerned, and regarded their neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God, and of his holy religion. In such a quarrel, they would gladly have marched to the opposite extremity of Europe, have plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics, and have expended all the blood and treasure of the nation, by maintaining a contest with the whole house of Austria, at the very time and in the very place, in which it was the most potent, and almost irresistible.

But James, besides that his temper was too little enterprising for such vast undertakings, was restrained by another motive, which had a mighty influence over him: he refused to patronize the revolt of subjects against their sovereign. From the very first he denied to his son-in-law the title of King of Bohemia[n]: he forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation: and though he owned that he had nowise examined the pretensions, privileges, and constitution of the revolted states[o], so exalted was his idea of the rights of kings, that he concluded subjects must ever be in the wrong, when they stood in opposition to those who had acquired or assumed that majestic title. Thus, even in measures founded on true politics, James intermixed so many narrow prejudices, as diminished his authority, and exposed him to the imputation of weakness and of error.

---

[m] Franklyn, p. 49.

[n] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 12, 13.

[o] Franklyn, p. 48.

1620.

Meanwhile affairs every where hastened to a crisis. Ferdinand levied a great force, under the command of the Duke of Bavaria and the Count of Bucquoy; and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. In the Low Countries, Spinola collected a veteran army of thirty thousand men. When Edmonds, the king's resident at Brussels, made remonstrances to the Archduke Albert, he was answered, that the orders for this armament had been transmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the secret destination of it. Spinola again told the minister, that his orders were still sealed; but, if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Coblentz, he would there open them, and give him full satisfaction[p]. It was more easy to see his intentions, than to prevent their success. Almost at one time, it was known in England that Frederic, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, and, meeting with no resistance, except from some princes of the union, and from one English regiment of two thousand four hundred men, commanded by the brave Sir Horace Vere[q], had, in a little time, reduced the greater part of that principality.

Loss of the Palatinate.

High were now the murmurs and complaints against the king's neutrality and inactive disposition. The happiness and tranquillity of their own country became distasteful to the English, when they reflected on the grievances and distresses of their Protestant brethren in Germany. They considered not, that their interposition in the wars of the continent, though agreeable to religious zeal, could not, at that time, be justified by any sound maxims of politics; that, however exorbitant the Austrian greatness, the danger was still too distant to give any just alarm to England; that mighty resistance would yet be made by so many potent and warlike princes and states in Germany, ere they would yield their neck to the yoke; that France, now engaged to contract a double alliance with the Austrian family, must necessarily be soon roused from her lethargy, and oppose the progress of so hated a rival; that in the farther advance of conquests,

---

[p] Franklyn, p. 44. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 14.

[q] Franklyn, p. 42, 43. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 15. Kennet, p. 723.

1620.

even the interests of the two branches of that ambitious family must interfere, and beget mutual jealousy and opposition; that a land-war, carried on at such a distance, would waste the blood and treasure of the English nation, without any hopes of success; that a sea-war, indeed, might be both safe and successful against Spain, but would not affect the enemy in such vital parts as to make them stop their career of success in Germany, and abandon all their acquisitions; and that the prospect of recovering the Palatinate being at present desperate, the affair was reduced to this simple question, Whether peace and commerce with Spain, or the uncertain hopes of plunder and of conquest in the Indies, were preferable? a question which, at the beginning of the king's reign, had already been decided, and perhaps with reason, in favour of the former advantages.

Negotiations with Spain.

James might have defended his pacific measures by such plausible arguments: but these, though the chief, seem not to have been the sole motives which swayed him. He had entertained the notion, that, as his own justice and moderation had shone out so conspicuously throughout all these transactions, the whole house of Austria, though not awed by the power of England, would willingly, from mere respect to his virtue, submit themselves to so equitable an arbitration. He flattered himself that, after he had formed an intimate connexion with the Spanish monarch, by means of his son's marriage, the restitution of the Palatinate might be procured, from the motive alone of friendship and personal attachment. He perceived not, that his inactive virtue, the more it was extolled, the greater disregard was it exposed to. He was not sensible that the Spanish match was itself attended with such difficulties, that all his art of negotiation would scarcely be able to surmount them; much less, that this match could in good policy be depended on, as the means of procuring such extraordinary advantages. His unwarlike disposition, increased by age, riveted him still faster in his errors, and determined him to seek the restoration of his son-in-law, by remonstrances and entreaties, by arguments and embassies, rather than by blood and violence. And the same defect of courage which held him in awe of foreign nations, made him

CHAP. XLVIII.

1620.

likewise afraid of shocking the prejudices of his own subjects, and kept him from openly avowing the measures which he was determined to pursue. Or, perhaps, he hoped to turn these prejudices to account, and, by their means, engage his people to furnish him with supplies, of which their excessive frugality had hitherto made them so sparing and reserved[r].

He first tried the expedient of a benevolence or free gift from individuals; pretending the urgency of the case, which would not admit of leisure for any other measure: but the jealousy of liberty was now roused, and the nation regarded these pretended benevolences as real extortions, contrary to law, and dangerous to freedom, however authorized by ancient precedent. A Parliament was found to be the only resource which could furnish any large supplies; and writs were accordingly issued for summoning that great council of the nation[s].

A Parliament.

1621. 16th June.

In this Parliament there appeared, at first, nothing but duty and submission on the part of the Commons; and they seemed determined to sacrifice every thing, in order to maintain a good correspondence with their prince. They would allow no mention to be made of the new customs or impositions, which had been so eagerly disputed in the former Parliament[t]: the imprisonment of the members of that Parliament was here, by some, complained of; but, by the authority of the graver and more prudent part of the House, that grievance was buried in oblivion[u]: and, being informed that the king had remitted several considerable sums to the Palatine, the Commons, without a negative, voted him two subsidies[w], and that, too, at the very beginning of the session, contrary to the maxims frequently adopted by their predecessors.

Afterwards they proceeded, but in a very temperate manner, to the examination of grievances. They found, that patents had been granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel, for licensing inns and ale-houses; that great sums of money had been exacted, under pretext of these licences; and that such inn-keepers as pre-

---

[r] Franklyn, p. 47. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 21.

[s] See note [L L], at the end of the volume.

[t] Journ. 5th Dec. 1621.

[u] Journ. 12th, 16th Feb. 1620.

[w] Journ. 16th Feb. 1620.

1621.

sumed to continue their business, without satisfying the rapacity of the patentees, had been severely punished by fine, imprisonment, and vexatious prosecutions.

The same persons had also procured a patent, which they shared with Sir Edward Villiers, brother to Buckingham, for the sole making of gold and silver thread and lace, and had obtained very extraordinary powers for preventing any rivalship in these manufactures: they were armed with authority to search for all goods, which might interfere with their patent; and even to punish, at their own will and discretion, the makers, importers, and venders of such commodities. Many had grievously suffered by this exorbitant jurisdiction; and the lace which had been manufactured by the patentees was universally found to be adulterated, and to be composed more of copper than of the precious metals.

These grievances the Commons represented to the king; and they met with a very gracious and very cordial reception. He seemed even thankful for the information given him; and declared himself ashamed that such abuses, unknowingly to him, had crept into his administration. "I assure you," said he, "had I before heard these things complained of, I would have done the office of a just king, and out of Parliament have punished them, as severely, and peradventure more, than you now intend to do[x]." A sentence was passed for the punishment of Michel and Mompesson[y]. It was executed on the former. The latter broke prison and escaped. Villiers was, at that time, sent purposely on a foreign employment; and his guilt being less enormous, or less apparent, than that of the others, he was the more easily protected by the credit of his brother, Buckingham[z].

Bacon's fall.

Encouraged by this success, the Commons carried their scrutiny, and still with a respectful hand, into other abuses of importance. The great seal was, at that time,

---

[x] Franklyn, p. 51. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 25.

[y] Franklyn, p. 52. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 27.

[z] Yelverton, the attorney-general, was accused by the Commons for drawing the patents for these monopolies, and for supporting them. He apologized for himself, that he was forced by Buckingham, and that he supposed it to be the king's pleasure. The Lords were so offended at these articles of defence, though necessary to the attorney-general, that they fined him ten thousand pounds to the king, five thousand to the duke. The fines, however, were afterwards remitted. Franklyn, p. 55. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 31, 32, &c.

1621.

in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, created Viscount St. Alban's; a man universally admired for the greatness of his genius, and beloved for the courteousness and humanity of his behaviour. He was the great ornament of his age and nation; and nought was wanting to render him the ornament of human nature itself, but that strength of mind which might check his intemperate desire of preferment, that could add nothing to his dignity, and might restrain his profuse inclination to expense, that could be requisite neither for his honour nor entertainment. His want of economy, and his indulgence to servants, had involved him in necessities; and, in order to supply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes, by the title of presents, and that in a very open manner, from suitors in chancery. It appears that it had been usual for former chancellors to take presents; and it is pretended that Bacon, who followed the same dangerous practice, had still, in the seat of justice, preserved the integrity of a judge, and had given just decrees against those very persons, from whom he had received the wages of iniquity. Complaints rose the louder on that account, and at last reached the House of Commons, who sent up an impeachment against him to the Peers. The chancellor, conscious of guilt, deprecated the vengeance of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general avowal, to escape the confusion of a stricter inquiry. The Lords insisted on a particular confession of all his corruptions. He acknowledged twenty-eight articles; and was sentenced to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and never again to sit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

This dreadful sentence, dreadful to a man of nice sensibility to honour, he survived five years; and, being released in a little time from the Tower, his genius, yet unbroken, supported itself amidst involved circumstances and a depressed spirit, and shone out in literary productions, which have made his guilt or weaknesses be forgotten or overlooked by posterity. In consideration of his great merit, the king remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his sentence, conferred on him a large

CHAP. XLVIII.
1621.

pension of eighteen hundred pounds a year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of his age and misfortunes. And that great philosopher, at last, acknowledged with regret, that he had too long neglected the true ambition of a fine genius; and by plunging into business and affairs, which require much less capacity, but greater firmness of mind, than the pursuits of learning, had exposed himself to such grievous calamities[a].

The Commons had entertained the idea, that they were the great patrons of the people, and that the redress of all grievances must proceed from them; and to this principle they were chiefly beholden for the regard and consideration of the public. In the execution of this office, they now kept their ears open to complaints of every kind; and they carried their researches into many grievances, which, though of no great importance, could not be touched on, without sensibly affecting the king and his ministers. The prerogative seemed every moment to be invaded; the king's authority, in every article, was disputed; and James, who was willing to correct the abuses of his power, would not submit to have his power itself questioned and denied. After the House, therefore, had sitten near six months, and had, as yet, brought no considerable business to a full conclusion, the king resolved, under pretence of the advanced season, to interrupt their proceedings; and he sent them word, that he was determined, in a little time, to adjourn them till next winter. The Commons made application to the Lords, and desired them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment; which was refused by the Upper House. The king regarded this project of a joint petition as an attempt to force him from his measures: he thanked the Peers for their refusal to concur in it, and told them that, if it were their desire, he would delay the adjournment, but would not so far comply with the request of the Lower House[b]. And thus, in these great national affairs, the same peevishness, which, in private altercations, often raises a quarrel from the smallest beginnings,

---

[a] It is thought, that appeals from chancery to the House of Peers first came into practice while Bacon held the great seal. Appeals, under the form of *writs of error*, had long before lain against the courts of law. Blackstone's Comm. vol. iii. p. 454.

[b] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 35.

CHAP. XLVIII.

produced a mutual coldness and disgust between the king and the Commons.

1621. Rupture between the king and the Commons.

During the recess of Parliament, the king used every measure to render himself popular with the nation, and to appease the rising ill humour of its representatives. He had voluntarily offered the Parliament to circumscribe his own prerogative, and to abrogate for the future his power of granting monopolies. He now recalled all the patents of that kind, and redressed every article of grievance, to the number of thirty-seven, which had ever been complained of in the House of Commons [c]. But he gained not the end which he proposed. The disgust, which had appeared at parting, could not so suddenly be dispelled. He had likewise been so imprudent as to commit to prison Sir Edwin Sandys [d], without any known cause, besides his activity and vigour in discharging his duty as a member of Parliament. And above all, the transactions in Germany were sufficient, when joined to the king's cautions, negotiations, and delays, to inflame that jealousy of honour and religion which prevailed throughout the nation [e]. This summer, the ban of the empire had been published against the Elector Palatine; and the execution of it was committed to the Duke of Bavaria [f]. The Upper Palatinate was, in a little time, conquered by that prince; and measures were taken in the empire for bestowing on him the electoral dignity, of which the Palatine was then despoiled. Frederic now lived with his numerous family, in poverty and distress, either in Holland or at Sedan, with his uncle the Duke of Boüillon; and throughout all the new conquests, in both the Palatinates, as well as in Bohemia, Austria, and Lusatia, the progress of the Austrian arms was attended with rigours and severities, exercised against the professors of the reformed religion.

---

[c] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 36. Kennet, p. 733.

[d] Journ. 1st Dec. 1621.

[e] To show to what degree the nation was inflamed with regard to the Palatinate, there occurs a remarkable story this session. One Floyd, a prisoner in the Fleet, a Catholic, had dropped some expressions, in private conversation, as if he were pleased with the misfortunes of the Palatine and his wife. The Commons were in a flame, and pretending to be a court of judicature and of record, proceeded to condemn him to a severe punishment. The House of Lords checked this encroachment; and, what was extraordinary, considering the present humour of the Lower House, the latter acquiesced in the sentiments of the Peers. This is almost the only pretension of the English Commons, in which they have not prevailed. Happily for the nation, they have been successful in almost all their other claims. See Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 428, 429, &c. Journ. 4th, 8th, 12th May, 1621.

[f] Franklyn, p. 73.

1621. 14th Nov.

The zeal of the Commons immediately moved them, upon their assembling, to take all these transactions into consideration. They framed a remonstrance, which they intended to carry to the king. They represented, that the enormous growth of the Austrian power threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progress of the Catholic religion in England bred the most melancholy apprehensions lest it should again acquire an ascendant in the kingdom; that the indulgence of his majesty towards the professors of that religion had encouraged their insolence and temerity; that the uncontrolled conquests, made by the Austrian family in Germany, raised mighty expectations in the English papists; but above all, that the prospect of the Spanish match elevated them so far as to hope for an entire toleration, if not the final re-establishment of their religion. The Commons, therefore, entreated his majesty, that he would immediately undertake the defence of the Palatinate, and maintain it by force of arms; that he would turn his sword against Spain, whose armies and treasures were the chief support of the Catholic interest in Europe; that he would enter into no negotiation for the marriage of his son but with a Protestant princess; that the children of popish recusants should be taken from their parents, and be committed to the care of Protestant teachers and schoolmasters; and that the fines and confiscations, to which the Catholics were by law liable, should be levied with the utmost severity[g].

By this *bold* step, unprecedented in England for many years, and scarcely ever heard of in peaceable times, the Commons attacked at once all the king's favourite maxims of government, his cautious and pacific measures, his lenity towards the Romish religion, and his attachment to the Spanish alliance, from which he promised himself such mighty advantages. But what most disgusted him was, their seeming invasion of his prerogative, and their pretending, under colour of advice, to direct his conduct in such points as had ever been acknowledged to belong solely to the management and direction of the sovereign. He was, at that time, absent at Newmarket; but as soon as he heard of the intended remonstrance of the Com-

---

[g] Franklyn, p. 58, 59. Rushworth, vol. i, p. 40, 41. Kennet, p. 737.

1621.

mons, he wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the House for openly debating matters far above their reach and capacity, and he strictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government, or deep matters of state, and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with the daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any other of his friends and confederates. In order the more to intimidate them, he mentioned the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; and though he denied that the confinement of that member had been owing to any offence committed in the House, he plainly told them, that he thought himself fully entitled to punish every misdemeanor in Parliament, as well during its sitting as after its dissolution; and that he intended thenceforward to chastise any man, whose insolent behaviour there should minister occasion of offence[h].

This *violent* letter, in which the king, though he here imitated former precedents, may be thought not to have acted altogether on the defensive, had the effect which might naturally have been expected from it: the Commons were inflamed, not terrified. Secure of their own popularity, and of the bent of the nation towards a war with the Catholics abroad, and the persecution of popery at home, they little dreaded the menaces of a prince who was unsupported by military force, and whose gentle temper would, of itself, so soon disarm his severity. In a new remonstrance, therefore, they still insisted on their former remonstrance and advice; and they maintained, though in respectful terms, that they were entitled to interpose with their counsel in all matters of government; that to possess entire freedom of speech, in their debates on public business, was their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors; and that if any member abused this liberty, it belonged to the House alone, who were witnesses of his offence, to inflict a proper censure upon him[i].

So *vigorous* an answer was nowise calculated to appease the king. It is said, when the approach of the committee who were to present it was notified to him, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought, for that there were so many kings a-coming[k]. His answer was prompt and sharp. He told the House, that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful subjects; that their pretensions to inquire into all state affairs, without exception, was such a *plenipotence* as none of their ancestors, even during the reign of the weakest princes, had ever pretended to; that public transactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence, with which they were entirely unacquainted; that they could not better show their wisdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper sphere[l]; and that, in any business which depended on his prerogative, they had no title to interpose with their advice, except when he was pleased to desire it; and he concluded with these memorable words: *And though we cannot allow of your style, in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wished that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors, and us, (for the most of them grew from precedents, which shows rather a toleration than inheritance,) yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative*[m].

---

[h] Franklyn, p. 60. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 43. Kennet, p. 741.

[i] Franklyn, p. 60. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 44. Kennet, p. 741.

This open pretension of the king naturally gave great alarm to the House of Commons. They saw their title to every privilege, if not plainly denied, yet considered at least as precarious. It might be forfeited by abuse, and they had already abused it. They thought proper, therefore, immediately to oppose pretension to pretension; they framed a protestation, in which they repeated all their former claims for freedom of speech, and an unbounded authority to interpose with their advice and counsel; and they asserted, *That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and*

18th Dec.

Protestation of the Commons.

---

[k] Kennet, p. 43.

[l] *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* This expression is imagined to be insolent and disobliging: but it was a Latin proverb familiarly used on all occasions.

[m] Franklyn, p. 62, 63, 64. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 46, 47, &c. Kennet, p. 743.

jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England[n].

1621. The king, informed of these increasing heats and jealousies in the House, hurried to town. He sent immediately for the journals of the Commons; and, with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this protestation[o], and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book. He was doubly displeased, he said, with the protestation of the Lower House, on account of the manner of framing it, as well as of the matter which it contained. It was tumultuously voted, at a late hour, and in a thin House; and it was expressed in such general and ambiguous terms, as might serve for a foundation to the most enormous claims, and to the most unwarrantable usurpations upon his prerogative[p].

The meeting of the House might have proved dangerous after so violent a breach. It was no longer possible, while men were in such a temper, to finish any business. The king, therefore, prorogued the Parliament, and soon after dissolved it by proclamation, in which he also made an apology to the public for his whole conduct.

The leading members of the House, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips, were committed to the Tower; Selden, Pym, and Mallory, to other prisons[q]. As a lighter punishment, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Carew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir James Perrot, joined in commission with others, were sent to Ireland, in order to execute some business[r]. The king, at that time, enjoyed, at least exercised, the prerogative of employing any man, even without his consent, in any branch of public service.

Sir John Savile, a powerful man in the House of Commons, and a zealous opponent of the court, was made comptroller of the household, a privy counsellor, and soon after a baron[s]. This event is memorable, as being the first instance, perhaps, in the whole history of England, of any king's advancing a man on account of Parliamentary interest, and of opposition to his measures. However irregular this practice, it will be regarded by political

---

[n] See note [MM], at the end of the volume.
[o] Journ. 18th Dec. 1621.
[p] Franklyn, p. 65.
[q] Ibid. p. 66. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 55.
[r] Franklyn, p. 66. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 55.
[s] Kennet, p. 749.

1621.

reasoners as one of the most early and most infallible symptoms of a regular established liberty.

The king having thus, with so rash and indiscreet a hand, torn off that sacred veil which had hitherto covered the English constitution, and which threw an obscurity upon it so advantageous to royal prerogative, every man began to indulge himself in political reasonings and inquiries; and the same factions which commenced in Parliament were propagated throughout the nation. In vain did James, by reiterated proclamations, forbid the discoursing of state affairs[t]. Such proclamations, if they had any effect, served rather to inflame the curiosity of the public; and, in every company or society, the late transactions became the subject of argument and debate.

All history, said the partisans of the court, as well as the history of England, justify the king's position with regard to the origin of popular privileges; and every reasonable man must allow, that as monarchy is the most simple form of government, it must first have occurred to rude and uninstructed mankind. The other complicated and artificial additions were the successive invention of sovereigns and legislators; or, if they were obtruded on the prince by seditious subjects, their origin must appear, on that very account, still more precarious and unfavourable. In England, the authority of the king, in all the exterior forms of government, and in the common style of law, appears totally absolute and sovereign; nor does the real spirit of the constitution, as it has ever discovered itself in practice, fall much short of these appearances. The Parliament is created by his will; by his will it is dissolved. It is his will alone, though at the desire of both Houses, which gives authority to laws. To all foreign nations, the majesty of the monarch seems to merit sole attention and regard; and no subject, who has exposed himself to royal indignation, can hope to live with safety in the kingdom; nor can he even leave it, according to law, without the consent of his master. If a magistrate, environed with such power and splendour, should consider his authority as sacred, and regard him-

---

[t] Franklyn, p. 56. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 21. 36. 55. The king also, in imitation of his predecessors, gave rules to preachers. Franklyn, p. 70. The pulpit was at that time much more dangerous than the press. Few people could read, and still fewer were in the practice of reading.

CHAP. XLVIII. 1621.

self as the anointed of Heaven, his pretensions may bear a very favourable construction: or, allowing them to be merely pious frauds, we need not be surprised, that the same stratagem which was practised by Minos, Numa, and the most celebrated legislators of antiquity, should now, in these restless and inquisitive times, be employed by the King of England. Subjects are not raised above that quality, though assembled in Parliament. The same humble respect and deference is still due to their prince. Though he indulges them in the privilege of laying before him their domestic grievances, with which they are supposed to be best acquainted, this warrants not their bold intrusion into every province of government. And, to all judicious examiners, it must appear, "That the lines of duty are as much transgressed by a more independent and less respectful exercise of acknowledged powers, as by the usurpation of such as are new and unusual."

The lovers of liberty, throughout the nation, reasoned after a different manner. It is in vain, said they, that the king traces up the English government to its first origin, in order to represent the privileges of Parliament as dependent and precarious; prescription, and the practice of so many ages, must, long ere this time, have given a sanction to these assemblies, even though they had been derived from an origin no more dignified than that which he assigns them. If the written records of the English nation, as asserted, represent Parliaments to have arisen from the consent of monarchs, the principles of human nature, when we trace government a step higher, must show us that monarchs themselves owe all their authority to the voluntary submission of the people. But, in fact, no age can be shown, when the English government was altogether an unmixed monarchy; and if the privileges of the nation have, at any period, been overpowered by violent irruptions of foreign force or domestic usurpation, the generous spirit of the people has ever seized the first opportunity of re-establishing the ancient government and constitution. Though in the style of the laws, and in the usual forms of administration, royal authority may be represented as sacred and supreme, whatever is essential to the exercise of sovereign and

1621.

legislative power must still be regarded as equally divine and inviolable: or, if any distinction be made in this respect, the preference is surely due to those national councils, by whose interposition the exorbitances of tyrannical power are restrained, and that sacred liberty is preserved, which heroic spirits, in all ages, have deemed more precious than life itself. Nor is it sufficient to say, that the mild and equitable administration of James affords little occasion, or no occasion of complaint. How moderate soever the exercise of his prerogative, how exact soever his observance of the laws and constitution, "If he founds his authority on arbitrary and dangerous principles, it is requisite to watch him with the same care, and to oppose him with the same vigour, as if he had indulged himself in all the excesses of cruelty and tyranny."

Amidst these disputes, the wise and moderate in the nation endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, an equitable neutrality between the opposite parties; and the more they reflected on the course of public affairs, the greater difficulty they found in fixing just sentiments with regard to them. On the one hand, they regarded the very rise of parties as a happy prognostic of the establishment of liberty; nor could they ever expect to enjoy, in a mixed government, so valuable a blessing without suffering that inconvenience, which, in such governments, has ever attended it. But when they considered, on the other hand, the necessary aims and pursuits of both parties, they were struck with apprehension of the consequences, and could discover no feasible plan of accommodation between them. From long practice, the crown was now possessed of so exorbitant a prerogative, that it was not sufficient for liberty to remain on the defensive, or endeavour to secure the little ground which was left her; it was become necessary to carry on an offensive war, and to circumscribe, within more narrow as well as more exact bounds, the authority of the sovereign. Upon such provocation, it could not but happen, that the prince, however just and moderate, would endeavour to repress his opponents; and, as he stood upon the very brink of arbitrary power, it was to be feared that he would, hastily and unknowingly, pass those limits which were not precisely marked by the con-

CHAP. XLVIII. 1621.

stitution. The turbulent government of England, ever fluctuating between privilege and prerogative, would afford a variety of precedents, which might be pleaded on both sides. In such delicate questions, the people must be divided: the arms of the state were still in their hands: a civil war must ensue; a civil war where no party or both parties would justly bear the blame, and where the good and virtuous would scarcely know what vows to form: were it not that liberty, so necessary to the perfection of human society, would be sufficient to bias their affections towards the side of its defenders.

CHAPTER XLIX.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE MARRIAGE AND THE PALATINATE.—CHARACTER OF BUCKINGHAM.—PRINCE'S JOURNEY TO SPAIN.—MARRIAGE TREATY BROKEN.—A PARLIAMENT.—RETURN OF BRISTOL.—RUPTURE WITH SPAIN.—TREATY WITH FRANCE.—MANSFELDT'S EXPEDITION.—DEATH OF THE KING.—HIS CHARACTER.

CHAP. XLIX.

1622.

Negotiations with regard to the marriage and the Palatinate.

To wrest the Palatinate from the hands of the emperor and the Duke of Bavaria must always have been regarded as a difficult task for the power of England, conducted by so unwarlike a prince as James: it was plainly impossible, while the breach subsisted between him and the Commons. The king's negotiations, therefore, had they been managed with ever so great dexterity, must now carry less weight with them; and it was easy to elude all his applications. When Lord Digby, his ambassador to the emperor, had desired a cessation of hostilities, he was referred to the Duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Austrian armies. The Duke of Bavaria told him, that it was entirely superfluous to form any treaty for that purpose. *Hostilities are already ceased,* said he; *and I doubt not but I shall be able to prevent their revival by keeping firm possession of the Palatinate, till a final agreement shall be concluded between the contending parties*[a]. Notwithstanding this insult, James endeavoured to resume with the emperor a treaty of accommodation; and he opened the negotiations at Brussels, under the mediation of Archduke Albert; and after his death, which happened about this time, under that of the infanta: when the conferences were entered upon, it was found that the powers of these princes to determine in the controversy were not sufficient or satisfactory. Schwartzenbourg, the imperial minister, was expected at London, and it was hoped that he would bring more ample authority: his commission referred entirely to the negotiation at Brussels. It was not difficult for the king to perceive, that his applications were

---

[a] Franklyn, p. 57. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 38.

1622.

neglected by the emperor: but as he had no choice of any other expedient, and it seemed the interest of his son-in-law to keep alive his pretensions, he was still content to follow Ferdinand through all his shifts and evasions. Nor was he entirely discouraged, even when the imperial diet at Ratisbon, by the influence, or rather authority, of the emperor, though contrary to the protestation of Saxony, and of all the Protestant princes and cities, had transferred the electoral dignity from the Palatine to the Duke of Bavaria.

Meanwhile, the efforts made by Frederic for the recovery of his dominions were vigorous. Three armies were levied in Germany by his authority, under three commanders, Duke Christian of Brunswick, the Prince of Baden-Dourlach, and Count Mansfeldt. The two former generals were defeated by Count Tilly and the imperialists: the third, though much inferior in force to his enemies, still maintained the war; but with no equal supplies of money either from the Palatine or the King of England. It was chiefly by pillage and free quarters in the Palatinate that he subsisted his army. As the Austrians were regularly paid, they were kept in more exact discipline; and James justly became apprehensive, lest so unequal a contest, besides ravaging the Palatine's hereditary dominions, would end in the total alienation of the people's affections from their ancient sovereign, by whom they were plundered, and in an attachment to their new masters, by whom they were protected [b]. He persuaded, therefore, his son-in-law to disarm, under colour of duty and submission to the emperor: and, accordingly, Mansfeldt was dismissed from the Palatine's service; and that famous general withdrew his army into the Low Countries, and there received a commission from the states of the United Provinces.

To show how little account was made of James's negotiations abroad, there is a pleasantry mentioned by all historians, which, for that reason, shall have place here. In a farce, acted at Brussels, a courier was introduced carrying the doleful news that the Palatinate would be soon wrested from the house of Austria, so powerful were the succours which, from all quarters, were hasten-

---

[b] Parl. Hist. vol. v. p. 484.

1662.

ing to the relief of the despoiled elector: the King of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his assistance a hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thousand butter-boxes, and the King of England a hundred thousand ambassadors. On other occasions, he was painted with a scabbard, but without a sword; or with a sword, which nobody could draw, though several were pulling at it[c].

It was not from his negotiations with the emperor or the Duke of Bavaria that James expected any success in his project of restoring the Palatine: his eyes were entirely turned towards Spain; and if he could effect his son's marriage with the infanta, he doubted not but that, after so intimate a conjunction, this other point could easily be obtained. The negotiations of that court being commonly dilatory, it was not easy for a prince of so little penetration in business to distinguish whether the difficulties which occurred were real or affected; and he was surprised, after negotiating five years on so simple a demand, that he was not more advanced than at the beginning. A dispensation from Rome was requisite for the marriage of the infanta with a Protestant prince; and the King of Spain, having undertaken to procure that dispensation, had thereby acquired the means of retarding at pleasure, or of forwarding the marriage, and at the same time of concealing entirely his artifices from the court of England.

In order to remove all obstacles, James despatched Digby, soon after created Earl of Bristol, as his ambassador to Philip IV., who had lately succeeded his father in the crown of Spain. He secretly employed Gage as his agent at Rome; and finding that the difference of religion was the principal, if not the sole difficulty, which retarded the marriage, he resolved to soften that objection as much as possible. He issued public orders for discharging all popish recusants who were imprisoned; and it was daily apprehended that he would forbid, for the future, the execution of the penal laws enacted against them. For this step, so opposite to the rigid spirit of his subjects, he took care to apologize; and he even endeavoured to ascribe it to his great zeal for the

---

[c] Kennet, p. 749.

1622.

reformed religion. He had been making applications, he said, to all foreign princes for some indulgence to the distressed Protestants; and he was still answered by objections derived from the severity of the English laws against Catholics[d]. It might indeed occur to him, that if the extremity of religious zeal were ever to abate among Christian sects, one of them must begin; and nothing would be more honourable for England, than to have led the way in sentiments so wise and moderate.

Not only the religious puritans murmured at this tolerating measure of the king: the lovers of civil liberty were alarmed at so important an exertion of prerogative. But among other dangerous articles of authority, the kings of England were at that time possessed of the dispensing power, at least were in the constant practice of exercising it. Besides, though the royal prerogative in civil matters was then extensive, the princes, during some late reigns, had been accustomed to assume a still greater in ecclesiastical; and the king failed not to represent the toleration of Catholics as a measure entirely of that nature.

By James's concession in favour of the Catholics, he attained his end. The same religious motives which had hitherto rendered the court of Madrid insincere in all the steps taken with regard to the marriage, were now the chief cause of promoting it. By its means, it was there hoped the English Catholics would for the future enjoy ease and indulgence; and the infanta would be the happy instrument of procuring to the church some tranquillity, after the many severe persecutions which it had hitherto undergone. The Earl of Bristol, a minister of vigilance and penetration, and who had formerly opposed all alliance with Catholics[e], was now fully convinced of the sincerity of Spain; and he was ready to congratulate the king on the entire completion of his views and projects[f]. A daughter of Spain, whom he represents as extremely accomplished, would soon, he said, arrive in England, and bring with her an immense fortune of two millions of pieces of eight, or six hundred thousand pounds sterling; a sum four times greater than Spain

---

[d] Franklyn, p. 69. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 63.

[e] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 292.

[f] Ibid. p. 69.

1622.

had ever before given with any princess, and almost equal to all the money which the Parliament, during the whole course of this reign, had hitherto granted to the king. But what was of more importance to James's honour and happiness, Bristol considered this match as an infallible prognostic of the Palatine's restoration; nor would Philip, he thought, ever have bestowed his sister and so large a fortune under the prospect of entering next day into a war with England. So exact was his intelligence, that the most secret counsels of the Spaniards, he boasts, had never escaped him[g]; and he found that they had all along considered the marriage of the infanta, and the restitution of the Palatinate, as measures closely connected or altogether inseparable[h]. However little calculated James's character to extort so vast a concession, however improper the measures which he had pursued for attaining that end, the ambassador could not withstand the plain evidence of facts, by which Philip now demonstrated his sincerity. Perhaps too, like a wise man, he considered, that reasons of state, which are supposed solely to influence the councils of monarchs, are not always the motives which there predominate; that the milder views of gratitude, honour, friendship, generosity, are frequently able among princes, as well as private persons, to counterbalance these selfish considerations; that the justice and moderation of James had been so conspicuous in all these transactions, his reliance on Spain, his confidence in her friendship, that he had at last obtained the cordial alliance of that nation, so celebrated for honour and fidelity: or if politics must still be supposed the ruling motive of all public measures, the maritime power of England was so considerable, and the Spanish dominions so divided, as might well induce the council of Philip to think, that a sincere friendship with the masters of the sea could not be purchased by too great concessions[i]. And as James, during so many years, had been allured and seduced by hopes and protestations, his people enraged by delays and disappoint-

---

[g] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 272.

[h] We find by private letters between Philip IV. and the Condé Olivarez, shown by the latter to Buckingham, that the marriage and the restitution of the Palatinate were always considered by the court of Spain as inseparable. See Franklyn, p. 71, 72. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 71. 280. 299, 300. Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 66.

[i] Franklyn, p. 72.

1622.

ments, it would probably occur, that there was now no medium left between the most inveterate hatred and the most intimate alliance between the nations: not to mention, that, as a new spirit began about this time to animate the councils of France, the friendship of England became every day more necessary to the greatness and security of the Spanish monarch.

All measures being, therefore, agreed on between the parties, nought was wanting but the dispensation from Rome, which might be considered as a mere formality[k]. The king, justified by success, now exulted in his pacific counsels, and boasted of his superior sagacity and penetration; when all these flattering prospects were blasted by the temerity of a man, whom he had fondly exalted from a private condition to be the bane of himself, of his family, and of his people.

Character of Buckingham.

Ever since the fall of Somerset, Buckingham had governed, with an uncontrolled sway, both the court and nation; and could James's eyes have been opened, he had now full opportunity of observing how unfit his favourite was for the high station to which he was raised. Some accomplishments of a courtier he possessed: of every talent of a minister he was utterly destitute. Headstrong in his passions, and incapable equally of prudence and of dissimulation: sincere from violence rather than candour: expensive from profusion more than generosity: a warm friend, a furious enemy; but without any choice or discernment in either: with these qualities he had early and quickly mounted to the highest rank; and partook at once of the insolence which attends a fortune newly acquired, and the impetuosity which belongs to persons born in high stations, and unacquainted with opposition.

1623.

Among those who had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favourite, the Prince of Wales himself had not been entirely spared; and a great coldness, if not an enmity, had, for that reason, taken place between them. Buckingham, desirous of an opportunity which might connect him with the prince and overcome his aversion, and at the same time envious of the great credit acquired by Bristol in the Spanish negotiation,

---

[k] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 66.

CHAP. XLIX. 1623.

bethought himself of an expedient, by which he might at once gratify both these inclinations. He represented to Charles, that persons of his exalted station were peculiarly unfortunate in their marriage, the chief circumstance in life; and commonly received into their arms a bride, unknown to them, to whom they were unknown; not endeared by sympathy, not obliged by service; wooed by treaties alone, by negotiations, by political interest: that however accomplished the infanta, she must still consider herself as a melancholy victim of state, and could not but think with aversion of that day when she was to enter the bed of a stranger, and, passing into a foreign country and a new family, bid adieu for ever to her father's house and to her native land: that it was in the prince's power to soften all these rigours, and lay such an obligation on her, as would attach the most indifferent temper, as would warm the coldest affections: that his journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry, which would equal all the fictions of Spanish romance, and suiting the amorous and enterprising character of that nation, must immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer: that the negotiations with regard to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languished in the hands of ministers, would quickly be terminated by so illustrious an agent, seconded by the mediation and entreaties of the grateful infanta: that Spanish generosity, moved by that unexampled trust and confidence, would make concessions beyond what could be expected from political views and considerations: and that he would quickly return to the king with the glory of having reestablished the unhappy Palatine, by the same enterprise which procured him the affections and the person of the Spanish princess[1].

The mind of the young prince, replete with candour, was inflamed by these generous and romantic ideas, suggested by Buckingham. He agreed to make application to the king for his approbation. They chose the moment of his kindest and most jovial humour, and more by the earnestness which they expressed, than by the force of

---

[1] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 11, 12.

1623.

their reasons, they obtained a hasty and unguarded consent to their undertaking; and having engaged his promise to keep their purpose secret, they left him in order to make preparations for the journey.

No sooner was the king alone, than his temper, more cautious than sanguine, suggested very different views of the matter, and represented every difficulty and danger which could occur. He reflected, that, however the world might pardon this sally of youth in the prince, they would never forgive himself, who, at his years, and after his experience, could entrust his only son, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to the discretion of foreigners, without so much as providing the frail security of a safe conduct in his favour: that if the Spanish monarch were sincere in his professions, a few months must finish the treaty of marriage, and bring the infanta into England: if he were not sincere, the folly was still more egregious of committing the prince into his hands: that Philip, when possessed of so invaluable a pledge, might well rise in his demands, and impose harder conditions of treaty: and that the temerity of the enterprise was so apparent, that the event, how prosperous soever, could not justify it; and if disastrous, it would render himself infamous to his people and ridiculous to all posterity[m].

Tormented with these reflections, as soon as the prince and Buckingham returned for their despatches, he informed them of all the reasons which had determined him to change his resolution, and he begged them to desist from so foolish an adventure. The prince received the disappointment with sorrowful submission and silent tears: Buckingham presumed to speak in an imperious tone, which he had ever experienced to be prevalent over his too easy master. He told the king, that nobody for the future would believe any thing he said, when he retracted so soon the promise so solemnly given; that he plainly discerned this change of resolution to proceed from another breach of his word, in communicating the matter to some rascal, who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons which he had alleged, and he doubted not but he should hereafter know who his counsellor had been; and that if he receded from what he had promised,

[m] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 14.

1623.

it would be such a disobligation to the prince, who had now set his heart upon the journey, after his majesty's approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any man who had been the cause of it [n].

The king, with great earnestness, fortified by many oaths, made his apology, by denying that he had communicated the matter to any; and finding himself assailed, as well by the boisterous importunities of Buckingham, as by the warm entreaties of his son, whose applications had hitherto, on other occasions, been always dutiful, never earnest, he had again the weakness to assent to their purposed journey. It was agreed that Sir Francis Cottington alone, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bedchamber, should accompany them; and the former being at that time in the antechamber, he was immediately called in by the king's orders.

James told Cottington, that he had always been an honest man, and therefore he was now to trust him in an affair of the highest importance, which he was not, upon his life, to disclose to any man whatever. "Cottington," added he, "here is baby Charles and Stenny," (these ridiculous appellations he usually gave to the prince and Buckingham,) "who have a great mind to go post into Spain, and fetch home the infanta: they will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had resided some years in Spain as the king's agent, was struck with all the obvious objections to such an enterprise, and scrupled not to declare them. The king threw himself upon his bed, and cried, *I told you this before;* and fell into a new passion and new lamentations, complaining that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles.

The prince showed by his countenance that he was extremely dissatisfied with Cottington's discourse, but Buckingham broke into an open passion against him. The king, he told him, asked him only of the journey, and of the manner of travelling, particulars of which he might be a competent judge, having gone the road so often by post; but that he, without being called to it, had the presumption to give his advice upon matters of state and against his master, which he should repent as long as he lived. A thousand other reproaches he added, which put the poor king into a new agony in behalf of a servant, who, he foresaw, would suffer for answering him honestly. Upon which he said, with some emotion, *Nay, by God, Stenny, you are much to blame for using him so: he answered me directly to the question which I asked him, and very honestly and wisely; and yet, you know, he said no more than I told you before he was called in.* However, after all this passion on both sides, James renewed his consent, and proper directions were given for the journey; nor was he now at any loss to discover that the whole intrigue was originally contrived by Buckingham, as well as pursued violently by his spirit and impetuosity.

---

[n] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 16.

These circumstances, which so well characterize the persons, seem to have been related by Cottington to Lord Clarendon, from whom they are here transcribed; and though minute, are not undeserving of a place in history.

7th Mar. The prince's journey to Spain.

The prince and Buckingham, with their two attendants, and Sir Richard Graham, master of horse to Buckingham, passed disguised and undiscovered through France; and they even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles saw the Princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived at Madrid, and surprised every body by a step so unusual among great princes. The Spanish monarch immediately paid Charles a visit, expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him, and made warm protestations of a correspondent confidence and friendship. By the most studious civilities, he showed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours: he took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to Charles; for there, he said, the prince was at home: Charles was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attends the kings of Spain on their coronation: the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself: Olivarez too, though a grandee of Spain, who has the right of being covered

1623.

before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's presence[o]: all the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if the event the most honourable and most fortunate had happened to the monarchy[p]: and every sumptuary law with regard to apparel was suspended during Charles's residence in Spain. The infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public; the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict, as not to allow of any farther intercourse till the arrival of the dispensation[q].

The point of honour was carried so far by that generous people, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantage which they had acquired, of imposing any harder conditions of treaty: their pious zeal only prompted them, on one occasion, to desire more concessions in the religious articles; but upon the opposition of Bristol, accompanied with some reproaches, they immediately desisted. The pope, however, hearing of the prince's arrival in Madrid, tacked some new clauses to the dispensation[r]; and it became necessary to transmit the articles to London, that the king might ratify them. This treaty, which was made public, consisted of several articles, chiefly regarding the exercise of the catholic religion by the infanta and her household. Nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, in which the king promised, that the children should be educated by the princess till ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of seasoning their minds with catholic principles; and though so tender an age seemed a sufficient security against theological prejudices, yet the same reason which made the pope insert that article, should have induced the king to reject it.

Besides the public treaty, there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the king; in which he promised to suspend the penal laws enacted against Catholics, to procure a repeal of them in Parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the catholic religion in private houses[s]. Great murmurs, we may believe, would have

---

[o] Franklyn, p. 73.
[p] Idem, p. 74.
[q] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 77.
[r] Idem, vol. i. p. 84.
[s] Franklyn, p. 80. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 89. Kennet, p. 769.

CHAP. XLIX. 1623.

arisen against these articles, had they been made known to the public; since we find it to have been imputed as an enormous crime to the prince, that having received, about this time, a very civil letter from the pope, he was induced to return a very civil answer[t].

Meanwhile Gregory XV., who granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII. was chosen in his place. Upon this event, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, till it should be renewed by Urban; and that crafty pontiff delayed sending a new dispensation, in hopes that, during the prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be fallen upon to effect his conversion. The King of England, as well as the prince, became impatient. On the first hint, Charles obtained permission to return, and Philip graced his departure with all the circumstances of elaborate civility and respect which had attended his reception. He even erected a pillar on the spot where they took leave of each other, as a monument of mutual friendship; and the prince, having sworn to the observance of all the articles, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andero.

The character of Charles, composed of decency, reserve, modesty, sobriety, virtues so agreeable to the manners of the Spaniards; the unparalleled confidence which he had reposed in their nation; the romantic gallantry which he had practised towards their princess; all these circumstances, joined to his youth and advantageous figure, had endeared him to the whole court of Madrid, and had impressed the most favourable ideas of him[u]. But, in the same proportion that the prince was beloved and esteemed, was Buckingham despised and hated. His behaviour, composed of English familiarity and French vivacity, his sallies of passion, his indecent freedoms with the prince, his dissolute pleasures, his arrogant, impetuous temper, which he neither could nor cared to disguise; qualities like these could, most of them, be esteemed nowhere, but to the Spaniards were the objects of peculiar aversion[w]. They could not conceal their surprise, that such a youth could intrude into a negotiation now conducted to a period by so accomplished a

---

[t] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 82. Franklyn, p. 77.

[u] Franklyn, p. 80. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 103.

[w] Ibid. vol. i. p. 101.

1623.

minister as Bristol, and could assume to himself all the merit of it; they lamented the infanta's fate, who must be approached by a man whose temerity seemed to respect no laws, divine or human [x]; and when they observed, that he had the imprudence to insult the Condé Duke of Olivarez, their prime minister, every one, who was ambitious of paying court to the Spanish, became desirous of showing a contempt for the English favourite.

The Duke of Buckingham told Olivarez, that his own attachment to the Spanish nation and to the King of Spain was extreme, that he would contribute to every measure which could cement the friendship between England and them, and that his peculiar ambition would be to facilitate the prince's marriage with the infanta; but he added, with a sincerity equally insolent and indiscreet, *With regard to you, sir, in particular, you must not consider me as your friend, but must ever expect from me all possible enmity and opposition.* The Condé Duke replied, with a becoming dignity, that he very willingly accepted of what was proffered him: and on these terms the favourites parted [y].

Buckingham, sensible how odious he was become to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the infanta, resolved to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage. By what arguments he could engage the prince to offer such an insult to the Spanish nation, from whom he had met with such generous treatment; by what colours he could disguise the ingratitude and imprudence of such a measure; these are totally unknown to us. We may only conjecture, that the many unavoidable causes of delay, which had so long prevented the arrival of the dispensation, had afforded to Buckingham a pretence for throwing on the Spaniards the imputation of insincerity in the whole treaty. It also appears, that his impetuous and domineering character had acquired, what it ever after maintained, a total ascendant over the gentle and modest temper of Charles; and when the prince left Madrid, he was firmly deter-

---

[x] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 36.

[y] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 103. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 37.

CHAP. XLIX. mined, notwithstanding all his professions, to break off the treaty with Spain.

1623. It is not likely that Buckingham prevailed so easily with James to abandon a project which, during so many years, had been the object of all his wishes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to a happy period[z]. A rupture with Spain, the loss of two millions, were prospects little agreeable to this pacific and indigent monarch; but finding his only son bent against a match which had always been opposed by his people and his Parliament, he yielded to difficulties which he had not courage or strength of mind sufficient to overcome. The prince, therefore, and Buckingham, on their arrival at London, assumed entirely the direction of the negotiation, and it was their business to seek for pretences, by which they could give a colour to their intended breach of treaty.

Though the restitution of the Palatinate had ever been considered by James as a natural or necessary consequence of the Spanish alliance, he had always forbidden his ministers to insist on it as a preliminary article to the conclusion of the marriage treaty. He considered, that this principality was now in the hands of the emperor and the Duke of Bavaria; and that it was no longer in the King of Spain's power, by a single stroke of his pen, to restore it to its ancient master. The strict alliance of Spain with these princes would engage Philip, he thought, to soften so disagreeable a demand by every art of negotiation; and many articles must of necessity be adjusted, before such an important point could be effected. It was sufficient, in James's opinion, if the sincerity of the Spanish court could, for the present, be ascertained; and dreading farther delays of the marriage so long wished for, he was resolved to trust the Palatine's full restoration to the event of future counsels and deliberations[a].

This whole system of negotiation Buckingham now reversed, and he overturned every supposition upon which the treaty had hitherto been conducted. After many fruitless artifices were employed to delay or prevent the espousals, Bristol received positive orders not to deliver

[z] Hacket's Life of Williams.

[a] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 57.

1623.

the proxy, which had been left in his hands, or to finish the marriage, till security were given for the full restitution of the Palatinate [b]. Philip understood this language. He had been acquainted with the disgust received by Buckingham; and deeming him a man capable of sacrificing to his own ungovernable passions the greatest interests of his master and of his country, he had expected that the unbounded credit of that favourite would be employed to embroil the two nations. Determined, however, to throw the blame of the rupture entirely on the English, he delivered into Bristol's hand a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restoration of the Palatinate, either by persuasion, or by every other possible means; and when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction, he ordered the infanta to lay aside the title of Princess of Wales, which she bore after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language [c]; and thinking that such rash counsels, as now governed the court of England, would not stop at the breach of the marriage treaty, he ordered preparations for war immediately to be made throughout all his dominions [d].

Marriage treaty broken.

Thus James, having, by means inexplicable from the ordinary rules of politics, conducted so near an honourable period the marriage of his son and the restoration of his son-in-law, failed at last of his purpose by means equally unaccountable.

But though the expedients already used by Buckingham were sufficiently inglorious both for himself and for the nation, it was necessary for him, ere he could fully effect his purpose, to employ artifices still more dishonourable.

1624.

The king, having broken with Spain, was obliged to concert new measures; and, without the assistance of Parliament, no effectual step of any kind could be taken. The benevolence which, during the interval, had been rigorously exacted for recovering the Palatinate, though levied for so popular an end, had procured to the king less money than ill-will from his subjects [e]. Whatever

---

[b] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 105. Kennet, p. 776.

[c] Franklyn, p. 80. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 112.

[d] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 114.

[e] To show by what violent measures benevolences were usually raised, Johnstone tells us, in his *Rerum Britannicarum Historia*, that Barnes, a citizen of London,

1624.

A Parliament.

discouragements, therefore, he might receive from his ill agreement with former Parliaments, there was a necessity of summoning once more this assembly: and it might be hoped, that the Spanish alliance, which gave such umbrage, being abandoned, the Commons would now be better satisfied with the king's administration. In his speech to the Houses, James dropped some hints of his cause of complaint against Spain; and he graciously condescended to ask the advice of Parliament, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair as his son's marriage [f]. Buckingham delivered, to a committee of Lords and Commons, a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and complete, of every step taken in the negotiations with Philip: but partly by the suppression of some facts, partly by the false colouring laid on others, this narrative was calculated entirely to mislead the Parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and insincerity. He said that, after many years' negotiation, the king found not himself any nearer his purpose; and that Bristol had never brought the treaty beyond general professions and declarations: that the prince, doubting the good intentions of Spain, resolved at last to take a journey to Madrid, and put the matter to the utmost trial: that he there found such artificial dealings as made him conclude all the steps taken towards the marriage to be false and deceitful: that the restitution of the Palatinate, which had ever been regarded by the king as an essential preliminary, was not seriously intended by Spain; and that, after enduring much bad usage, the prince was obliged to return to England, without any hopes, either of obtaining the infanta, or of restoring the Elector Palatine [g].

29th Feb.

This narrative, which, considering the importance of the occasion, and the solemnity of that assembly to which it was delivered, deserves great blame, was yet vouched

---

was the first who refused to contribute any thing; upon which the treasurer sent him word, that he must immediately prepare himself to carry, by post, a despatch into Ireland. The citizen was glad to make his peace by paying a hundred pounds, and no one durst afterwards refuse the benevolence required. See farther, Coke, p. 80.

[f] Franklyn, p. 79. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 115. Kennet, p. 778.

[g] Franklyn, p. 89, 90, 91, &c. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 119, 120, &c. Parliament. Hist. vol. vi. p. 20, 21, &c.

1624.

for truth by the Prince of Wales, who was present; and the king himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the Parliament that it was by his orders Buckingham laid the whole affair before them. The conduct of these princes it is difficult fully to excuse. It is in vain to plead the youth and inexperience of Charles, unless his inexperience and youth, as is probable [h], if not certain, really led him into error, and made him swallow all the falsities of Buckingham; and though the king was here hurried from his own measures by the impetuosity of others, nothing should have induced him to prostitute his character, and seem to vouch the impostures, at least false colourings, of his favourite, of which he had so good reason to entertain a suspicion [i].

Buckingham's narrative, however artfully disguised, contained so many contradictory circumstances, as were sufficient to open the eyes of all reasonable men; but it concurred so well with the passions and prejudices of the Parliament, that no scruple was made of immediately adopting it [k]. Charmed with having obtained at length the opportunity, so long wished for, of going to war with papists, they little thought of future consequences; but immediately advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the restitution of the Palatinate [l]. The people, ever greedy of war till they suffer by it, displayed their triumph at these violent measures by public bonfires and rejoicings, and by insults on the Spanish ministers. Buckingham was now the favourite of the public and of the Parliament; Sir Edward Coke, in the House of Commons, called him the saviour of the nation [m]; every place resounded with his praises; and he himself, intoxicated by a popularity which he enjoyed so little time, and which he so ill deserved, violated all duty to his indulgent master, and entered into cabals with the puritanical members, who had ever opposed the royal authority. He even en-

---

[h] See note [N N], at the end of the volume.

[i] It must, however, be confessed, that the king afterwards warned the House not to take Buckingham's narrative for his, though it was laid before them by his order. Parliament. Hist. vol. vi. p. 104. James was probably ashamed to have been carried so far by his favourite.

[k] Parliament. Hist. vol. vi. p. 75.

[l] Franklyn, p. 98. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 128. Parliament. Hist. vol. vi. p. 103.

[m] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 6.

1624.

couraged schemes for abolishing the order of bishops, and selling the dean and chapter lands, in order to defray the expenses of a Spanish war; and the king, though he still entertained projects for temporizing, and for forming an accommodation with Spain, was so borne down by the torrent of popular prejudices, conducted and increased by Buckingham, that he was at last obliged, in a speech to Parliament, to declare in favour of hostile measures, if they would engage to support him[n]. Doubts of their sincerity in this respect, doubts which the event showed not to be ill grounded, had probably been one cause of his former pacific and dilatory measures.

In his speech on this occasion, the king began with lamenting his own unhappiness, that, having so long valued himself on the epithet of the pacific monarch, he should now, in his old age, be obliged to exchange the blessings of peace for the inevitable calamities of war. He represented to them the immense and continued expense requisite for military armaments; and besides supplies, from time to time, as they should become necessary, he demanded a vote of six subsidies and twelve fifteenths, as a proper stock before the commencement of hostilities. He told them of his intolerable debts, chiefly contracted by the sums remitted to the Palatinate[o]; but he added, that he did not insist on any supply for his own relief, and that it was sufficient for him, if the honour and security of the public were provided for. To remove all suspicion, he who had ever strenuously maintained his prerogative, and who had even extended it into some points esteemed doubtful, now made an imprudent concession, of which the consequences might have proved fatal to royal authority: he voluntarily offered, that the money voted should be paid to a committee of Parliament, and should be issued by them, without being entrusted to his management[p]. The Commons willingly accepted of this concession, so unusual in an English monarch; they voted him only three subsidies and three fifteenths[q]; and they took no notice of the complaints which he made of his own wants and necessities.

[n] Franklyn, p. 94, 95. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 129, 130.

[o] See note [O O], at the end of the volume.

[p] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 137.

[q] Less than three hundred thousand pounds.

1624.

Advantage was also taken of the present good agreement between the king and Parliament, in order to pass the bill against monopolies, which had formerly been encouraged by the king, but which had failed by the rupture between him and the last House of Commons. This bill was conceived in such terms as to render it merely declaratory; and all monopolies were condemned as contrary to law and to the known liberties of the people. It was there supposed, that every subject of England had entire power to dispose of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow-subjects; and that no prerogative of the king, no power of any magistrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could restrain that unlimited freedom. The full prosecution of this noble principle into all its natural consequences has at last, through many contests, produced that singular and happy government which we enjoy at present [r].

The House of Commons also corroborated, by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which, two years before, they had exercised in the case of Chancellor Bacon, and which had lain dormant for near two centuries, except when they served as instruments of royal vengeance. The Earl of Middlesex had been raised, by Buckingham's interest, from the rank of a London merchant, to be treasurer of England; and, by his activity and address, seemed not unworthy of that preferment. But as he incurred the displeasure of his patron, by scrupling or refusing some demands of money, during the prince's residence in Spain, that favourite vowed revenge, and employed all his credit among the Commons to procure an impeachment of the treasurer. The king was extremely dissatisfied with this measure, and prophesied to the prince and duke, that they would live to have their fill of parliamentary prosecutions [s]. In a speech to the Parliament, he endeavoured to apologize for Middlesex, and to soften the accusation against him [t]. The charge, however, was still maintained by the Commons; and the treasurer was found guilty by the Peers, though the misdemeanours proved against him were neither numerous nor important. The accepting of two presents

---

[r] See note [P P], at the end of the volume.

[s] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 23.

[t] Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 19.

1624. of five hundred pounds a-piece, for passing two patents, was the article of greatest weight. His sentence was, to be fined fifty thousand pounds for the king's use, and to suffer all the other penalties formerly inflicted upon Bacon. The fine was afterwards remitted by the prince, when he mounted the throne.

This session an address was also made, very disagreeable to the king, craving the severe execution of the laws against Catholics. His answer was gracious and condescending[u]; though he declared against persecution, as being an improper measure for the suppression of any religion, according to the received maxim, *That the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church.* He also condemned an entire indulgence of the Catholics, and seemed to represent a middle course as the most humane and most politic. He went so far as even to affirm, with an oath, that he never had entertained any thoughts of granting a toleration to these religionists[w]. The liberty of exercising their worship in private houses, which he had secretly agreed to in the Spanish treaty, did not appear to him deserving that name, and it was probably by means of this explication he thought that he had saved his honour; and as Buckingham, in his narrative[x], confessed that the king had agreed to a temporary suspension of the penal laws against the Catholics, which he distinguished from a toleration, a term at that time extremely odious, James naturally deemed his meaning to be sufficiently explained, and feared not any reproach of falsehood or duplicity on account of this asseveration.
29th May. After all these transactions, the parliament was prorogued by the king, who let fall some hints, though in gentle terms, of the sense which he entertained of their unkindness, in not supplying his necessities[y].

James, unable to resist so strong a combination as that of his people, his Parliament, his son, and his favourite, had been compelled to embrace measures, for which, from temper as well as judgment, he had ever entertained a most settled aversion. Though he dissembled his resentment, he began to estrange himself from Buckingham, to whom he ascribed all those violent counsels, and whom he considered as the author, both of the prince's journey to Spain, and of the breach of the marriage treaty. The arrival of Bristol he impatiently longed for; and it was by the assistance of that minister, whose wisdom he respected, and whose views he approved, that he hoped in time to extricate himself from his present difficulties.

---

[u] Franklyn, p. 101, 102.

[w] See farther, Franklyn, p. 87.

[x] Parliament. Hist. vol. vi. p. 37.

[y] Franklyn, p. 103.

Return of Bristol.

During the prince's abode in Spain, that able negotiator had ever opposed, though unsuccessfully, to the impetuous measures suggested by Buckingham, his own wise and well-tempered counsels. After Charles's departure, he still, upon the first appearance of a change of resolution, interposed his advice, and strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as the advantages which England must reap from the completion of it. Enraged to find that his successful labours should be rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an insolent minion, he would understand no hints; and nothing but express orders from his master could engage him to make that demand which he was sensible must put a final period to the treaty. He was not therefore surprised to hear that Buckingham had declared himself his open enemy, and, on all occasions, had thrown out many violent reflections against him.

Nothing could be of greater consequence to Buckingham, than to keep Bristol at a distance, both from the king and the Parliament; lest the power of truth, enforced by so well-informed a speaker, should open scenes, which were but suspected by the former, and of which the latter had as yet entertained no manner of jealousy. He applied therefore to James, whose weakness, disguised to himself under the appearance of finesse and dissimulation, was now become absolutely incurable. A warrant for sending Bristol to the Tower was issued immediately upon his arrival in England[z]; and though he was soon released from confinement, yet orders were carried him from the king, to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all attendance in Parliament. He obeyed; but loudly demanded an opportunity of justifying himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master.

---

[z] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 145.

1624.

On all occasions he protested his innocence, and threw on his enemy the blame of every miscarriage. Buckingham, and at his instigation the prince, declared that they would be reconciled to Bristol, if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill conduct; but the spirited nobleman, jealous of his honour, refused to buy favour at so high a price. James had the equity to say, that the insisting on that condition was a strain of unexampled tyranny; but Buckingham scrupled not to assert, with his usual presumption, that neither the king, the prince, nor himself, were as yet satisfied of Bristol's innocence[a].

While the attachment of the prince to Buckingham, while the timidity of James, or the shame of changing his favourite, kept the whole court in awe, the Spanish ambassador, Inoiosa, endeavoured to open the king's eyes, and to cure his fears by instilling greater fears into him. He privately slipped into his hand a paper, and gave him a signal to read it alone. He there told him, that he was as much a prisoner at London as ever Francis I. was at Madrid; that the prince and Buckingham had conspired together, and had the whole court at their devotion; that cabals among the popular leaders in Parliament were carrying on to the extreme prejudice of his authority; that the project was to confine him to some of his hunting seats, and to commit the whole administration to Charles; and that it was necessary for him, by one vigorous effort, to vindicate his authority, and to punish those who had so long and so much abused his friendship and beneficence[b].

Rupture with Spain.

What credit James gave to this representation does not appear. He only discovered some faint symptoms, which he instantly retracted, of dissatisfaction with Buckingham. All his public measures, and all the alliances into which he entered, were founded on the system of enmity to the Austrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the Palatinate.

The states of the United Provinces were, at this time, governed by Maurice; and that aspiring prince, sensible that his credit would languish during peace, had, on the expiration of the twelve years' truce, renewed the war

---

[a] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 259.

[b] Ibid. vol. i. p. 144. Hacket's Life of Williams. Coke, p. 107.

1624.

with the Spanish monarchy. His great capacity in the military art would have compensated the inferiority of his forces, had not the Spanish armies been commanded by Spinola, a general equally renowned for conduct, and more celebrated for enterprise and activity. In such a situation, nothing could be more welcome to the republic than the prospect of a rupture between James and the Catholic king; and they flattered themselves, as well from the natural union of interests between them and England, as from the influence of the present conjuncture, that powerful succours would soon march to their relief. Accordingly, an army of six thousand men was levied in England and sent over to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, Essex, Oxford, Southampton, and Willoughby, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause, and of acquiring military experience under so renowned a captain as Maurice.

Treaty with France.

It might reasonably have been expected, that as religious zeal had made the recovery of the Palatinate appear a point of such vast importance in England, the same effect must have been produced in France, by the force merely of political views and considerations. While that principality remained in the hands of the house of Austria, the French dominions were surrounded on all sides by the possessions of that ambitious family, and might be invaded by superior forces from every quarter. It concerned the King of France, therefore, to prevent the peaceable establishment of the emperor in his new conquests; and both by the situation and greater power of his state, he was much better enabled than James to give succour to the distressed Palatine[c]. But though these views escaped not Lewis, nor Cardinal Richelieu, who now began to acquire an ascendant in the French court, that minister was determined to pave the way for his enterprises, by first subduing the Hugonots, and thence to proceed, by mature counsels, to humble the house of Austria. The prospect, however, of a conjunction with England was presently embraced, and all imaginable encouragement was given to every proposal for conciliating a marriage between Charles and the Princess Henrietta.

Notwithstanding the sensible experience, which James

---

[c] See Collection of State Papers by the Earl of Clarendon, p. 393.

CHAP. XLIX. 1624.

might have acquired, of the insurmountable antipathy entertained by his subjects against an alliance with Catholics, he still persevered in the opinion, that his son would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princess of less than royal extraction. After the rupture, therefore, with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France; and to that court he immediately applied himself[d]. The same allurements had not here place, which had so long entangled him in the Spanish negotiation: the portion promised was much inferior; and the peaceable restoration of the Palatine could not thence be expected. But James was afraid lest his son should be altogether disappointed of a bride; and therefore, as soon as the French king demanded, for the honour of his crown, the same terms which had been granted to the Spanish, he was prevailed with to comply: and as the prince, during his abode in Spain, had given a verbal promise to allow the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inserted in the treaty; and to that imprudence is generally imputed the present distressed condition of his posterity. The court of England, however, it must be confessed, always pretended, even in their memorials to the French court, that all the favourable conditions granted to the Catholics were inserted in the marriage treaty merely to please the pope, and that their strict execution was, by an agreement with France, secretly dispensed with[e].

As much as the conclusion of the marriage treaty was acceptable to the king, as much were all the military enterprises disagreeable, both from the extreme difficulty of the undertaking in which he was engaged, and from his own incapacity for such a scene of action.

During the Spanish negotiation, Heidelburg and Manheim had been taken by the imperial forces; and Frankendale, though the garrison was entirely English, was closely besieged by them. After reiterated remonstrances from James, Spain interposed, and procured a suspension of arms during eighteen months. But as Frankendale was the only place of Frederic's ancient dominions which was still in his hands, Ferdinand, desirous of withdrawing

---

[d] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 152.

[e] See note [Q Q], at the end of the volume.

1624.

his forces from the Palatinate, and of leaving that state in security, was unwilling that so important a fortress should remain in the possession of his enemy. To compromise all differences, it was agreed to sequestrate it into the hands of the infanta as a neutral person; upon condition that, after the expiration of the truce, it should be delivered to Frederic; though peace should not at that time be concluded between him and Ferdinand[f]. After the unexpected rupture with Spain, the infanta, when James demanded the execution of the treaty, offered him peaceable possession of Frankendale, and even promised a safe-conduct for the garrison through the Spanish Netherlands: but there was some territory of the empire interposed between her state and the Palatinate; and for passage over that territory, no terms were stipulated[g]. By this chicane, which certainly had not been employed if amity with Spain had been preserved, the Palatine was totally dispossessed of his patrimonial dominions.

Mansfeldt's expedition.

The English nation, however, and James's warlike council, were not discouraged. It was still determined to re-conquer the Palatinate; a state lying in the midst of Germany, possessed entirely by the emperor and Duke of Bavaria, surrounded by potent enemies, and cut off from all communication with England. Count Mansfeldt was taken into pay; and an English army of twelve thousand foot and two hundred horse was levied by a general press throughout the kingdom. During the negotiation with France, vast promises had been made, though in general terms, by the French ministry; not only that a free passage should be granted to the English troops, but that powerful succours should also join them in their march towards the Palatinate. In England, all these professions were hastily interpreted to be positive engagements. The troops under Mansfeldt's command were embarked at Dover; but, upon sailing over to Calais, found no orders yet arrived for their admission. After waiting in vain during some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand; where it had also been neglected to concert proper measures for their disembarkation; and some scruples arose among the states on account of the

December.

---

[f] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 74.

[g] Idem, ibid. p. 151.

1624. scarcity of provisions. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper crept in among the English forces, so long cooped up in narrow vessels. Half the army died while on board; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small 1625. a body to march into the Palatinate[h]. And thus ended this ill concerted and fruitless expedition; the only disaster which happened to England during the prosperous and pacific reign of James.

That reign was now drawing towards a conclusion. With peace, so successfully cultivated and so passionately loved by this monarch, his life also terminated. This spring he was seized with a tertian ague: and, when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that such a distemper, during that season, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. After some fits, he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to preserve a constancy in religion; to protect the church of England; and to extend his care towards the unhappy family of the Palatine[i]. With decency and courage he prepared himself for his end; and he expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of twenty-two years and some days; and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life. In all history, it would be difficult to find a reign less illustrious, yet more unspotted and unblemished, than that of James in both kingdoms.

Death of the king.

His character.

No prince, so little enterprising and so inoffensive, was ever so much exposed to the opposite extremes of calumny and flattery, of satire and panegyric: and the factions, which began in his time, being still continued, have made his character be as much disputed to this day, as is commonly that of princes who are our contemporaries. Many virtues, however, it must be owned, he was possessed of; but scarce any of them pure, or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness.

---

[h] Franklyn, p. 104. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 154. Dugdale, p. 24.
[i] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 155.

While he imagined that he was only maintaining his own authority, he may perhaps be suspected, in a few of his actions, and still more of his pretensions, to have somewhat encroached on the liberties of his people: while he endeavoured, by an exact neutrality, to acquire the good-will of all his neighbours, he was able to preserve fully the esteem and regard of none. His capacity was considerable; but fitter to discourse on general maxims, than to conduct any intricate business; his intentions were just; but more adapted to the conduct of private life, than to the government of kingdoms. Awkward in his person and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command respect; partial and undiscerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Of a feeble temper more than of a frail judgment: exposed to our ridicule from his vanity; but exempt from our hatred by his freedom from pride and arrogance. And upon the whole, it may be pronounced of his character, that all his qualities were sullied with weakness and embellished by humanity. Of political courage he certainly was destitute; and thence chiefly is derived the strong prejudice which prevails against his personal bravery: an inference, however, which must be owned, from general experience, to be extremely fallacious.

He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died on the 3d of March, 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age; a woman eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues. She loved shows and expensive amusements; but possessed little taste in her pleasures. A great comet appeared about the time of her death; and the vulgar esteemed it the prognostic of that event. So considerable in their eyes are even the most insignificant princes.

He left only one son, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine. She was aged twenty-nine years. Those alone remained of six legitimate children born to him. He never had any illegitimate; and he never discovered any tendency, even the smallest, towards a passion for any mistress.

The archbishops of Canterbury, during this reign, were Whytgift, who died in 1604; Bancroft, in 1610; Abbot, who survived the king. The chancellors, Lord Ellesmore,

1625.

who resigned in 1617; Bacon was first lord-keeper till 1619; then was created chancellor, and was displaced in 1621: Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was created lord-keeper in his place. The high treasurers were, the Earl of Dorset, who died in 1609; the Earl of Salisbury, in 1612; the Earl of Suffolk, fined and displaced for bribery in 1618; Lord Mandeville, resigned in 1621; the Earl of Middlesex, displaced in 1624; the Earl of Marlborough succeeded. The lord admirals were the Earl of Nottingham, who resigned in 1618; the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Buckingham. The secretaries of state were, the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Ralph Winwood, Nanton, Calvert, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton.

The numbers of the House of Lords, in the first Parliament of this reign, were seventy-eight temporal peers. The numbers in the first Parliament of Charles were ninety-seven. Consequently James, during that period, created nineteen new peerages above those that expired.

The House of Commons, in the first Parliament of this reign, consisted of four hundred and sixty-seven members. It appears, that four boroughs revived their charters, which they had formerly neglected. And as the first Parliament of Charles consisted of four hundred and ninety-four members, we may infer that James created ten new boroughs.

APPENDIX

TO THE

REIGN OF JAMES I.[a]

Civil Government of England during this Period.—Ecclesiastical Government.—Manners.—Finances.—Navy.—Commerce.—Manufactures.—Colonies.—Learning and Arts.

Appendix.

It may not be improper, at this period, to make a pause; and to take a survey of the state of the kingdom with regard to government, manners, finances, arms, trade, learning. Where a just notion is not formed of these particulars, history can be little instructive, and often will not be intelligible.

Civil government of England.

We may safely pronounce, that the English government, at the accession of the Scottish line, was much more arbitrary than it is at present; the prerogative less limited, the liberties of the subject less accurately defined and secured. Without mentioning other particulars, the courts alone of high commission and star-chamber were sufficient to lay the whole kingdom at the mercy of the prince.

The court of high commission had been erected by Elizabeth, in consequence of an act of Parliament, passed in the beginning of her reign: by this act, it was thought proper, during the great revolution of religion, to arm the sovereign with full powers, in order to discourage and suppress opposition. All appeals from the inferior ecclesiastical courts were carried before the high commission; and, of consequence, the whole life and doctrine of the

---

[a] This History of the house of Stuart was written and published by the author before the history of the house of Tudor. Hence it happens, that some passages, particularly in the present Appendix, may seem to be repetitions of what was formerly delivered in the reign of Elizabeth. The author, in order to obviate this objection, has cancelled some few passages in the foregoing chapters.

Appendix.

clergy lay directly under its inspection. Every breach of the act of uniformity, every refusal of the ceremonies, was cognizable in this court; and, during the reign of Elizabeth, had been punished by deprivation, by fine, confiscation, and imprisonment. James contented himself with the gentler penalty of deprivation; nor was that punishment inflicted with rigour on every offender. Archbishop Spotswood tells us, that he was informed by Bancroft, the primate, several years after the king's accession, that not above forty-five clergymen had then been deprived. All the Catholics too were liable to be punished by this court, if they exercised any act of their religion, or sent abroad their children or other relations, to receive that education which they could not procure them in their own country. Popish priests were thrown into prison, and might be delivered over to the law, which punished them with death; though that severity had been sparingly exercised by Elizabeth, and never almost by James. In a word, that liberty of conscience, which we so highly and so justly value at present, was totally suppressed; and no exercise of any religion, but the established, was permitted throughout the kingdom. Any word or writing, which tended towards heresy or schism, was punishable by the high commissioners, or any three of them: they alone were judges what expressions had that tendency: they proceeded not by information, but upon rumour, suspicion, or according to their discretion: they administered an oath, by which the party cited before them was bound to answer any question which should be propounded to him. Whoever refused this oath, though he pleaded ever so justly, that he might thereby be brought to accuse himself, or his dearest friend, was punishable by imprisonment: and, in short, an inquisitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom. Full discretionary powers were bestowed with regard to the inquiry, trial, sentence, and penalty inflicted; excepting only that corporal punishments were restrained by that patent of the prince which erected the court, not by the act of Parliament which empowered him. By reason of the uncertain limits which separate ecclesiastical from civil causes, all accusations of adultery and incest were tried by the court of high commission; and every complaint of wives against their husbands was there examined and discussed[b]. On like pretences, every cause which regarded conscience, that is, every cause, could have been brought under their jurisdiction.

But there was a sufficient reason, why the king would not be solicitous to stretch the jurisdiction of this court: the star-chamber possessed the same authority in civil matters; and its methods of proceeding were equally arbitrary and unlimited. The origin of this court was derived from the most remote antiquity[c]; though it is pretended, that its power had first been carried to the greatest height by Henry VII. In all times, however, it is confessed, it enjoyed authority; and at no time was its authority circumscribed, or method of proceeding directed by any law or statute.

We have had already, or shall have, sufficient occasion, during the course of this history, to mention the dispensing power, the power of imprisonment, of exacting loans[d] and benevolence, of pressing and quartering soldiers, of altering the customs, of erecting monopolies. These branches of power, if not directly opposite to the principles of all free government, must, at least, be acknowledged dangerous to freedom in a monarchical constitution, where an eternal jealousy must be preserved against the sovereign, and no discretionary powers must ever be entrusted to him, by which the property or personal liberty of any subject can be affected. The kings of England, however, had almost constantly exercised these powers; and if, on any occasion, the prince had been obliged to submit to laws enacted against them, he had ever, in practice, eluded these laws, and returned to the same arbitrary administration. During almost three centuries before the accession of James, the regal authority, in all these particulars, had never once been called in question.

We may also observe, that the principles in general, which prevailed during that age, were so favourable to monarchy, that they bestowed on it an authority almost absolute and unlimited, sacred and indefeasible.

---

[b] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 200.

[c] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 473. In Chambers's case, it was the unanimous opinion of the court of king's bench, that the court of star-chamber was not derived from the statute of Henry VII., but was a court many years before, and one of the most high and honourable courts of justice. See Coke's Rep. term Mich. 5 Car. I. See further, Camden's Brit. vol. i. Introd. p. 254. edit. of Gibson.

[d] During several centuries, no reign had passed without some forced loans from the subject.

The meetings of Parliament were so precarious; their sessions so short, compared to the vacations; that, when men's eyes were turned upwards in search of sovereign power, the prince alone was apt to strike them as the only permanent magistrate, invested with the whole majesty and authority of the state. The great complaisance too of Parliaments, during so long a period, had extremely degraded and obscured those assemblies; and as all instances of opposition to prerogative must have been drawn from a remote age, they were unknown to a great many, and had the less authority even with those who were acquainted with them. These examples, besides, of liberty, had commonly in ancient times been accompanied with such circumstances of violence, convulsion, civil war, and disorder, that they presented but a disagreeable idea to the inquisitive part of the people, and afforded small inducement to renew such dismal scenes. By a great many, therefore, monarchy, simple and unmixed, was conceived to be the government of England; and those popular assemblies were supposed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being in any degree essential to its being and existence[e]. The prerogative of the crown was represented by lawyers as something real and durable; like those eternal essences of the schools which no time or force could alter. The sanction of religion was by divines called in aid; and the Monarch of Heaven was supposed to be interested in supporting the authority of his earthly vicegerent. And though it is pretended that these doctrines were more openly inculcated and more strenuously insisted on during the reign of the Stuarts, they were not then invented: and were only found by the court to be more necessary at that period, by reason of the opposite doctrines which *began* to be promulgated by the puritanical party[f].

In consequence of these exalted ideas of kingly authority, the prerogative, besides the articles of jurisdiction founded on precedent, was by many supposed to possess an inexhaustible fund of latent powers which might be exerted on any emergence. In every government, necessity, when real, supersedes all laws, and levels all limitations: but in the English government, convenience alone was conceived to authorize any extraordinary act of regal power, and to render it obligatory on the people. Hence the strict obedience required to proclamations, during all periods of the English history; and if James has incurred blame on account of his edicts, it is only because he too frequently issued them at a time when they began to be less regarded, not because he first assumed or extended to an unusual degree that exercise of authority. Of his maxims in a parallel case, the following is a pretty remarkable instance.

---

[e] See note [R R], at the end of the volume.
[f] See note [SS], at the end of the volume.

Queen Elizabeth had appointed commissioners for the inspection of prisons, and had bestowed on them full discretionary powers to adjust all differences between prisoners and their creditors, to compound debts, and to give liberty to such debtors as they found honest and insolvent. From the uncertain and undefined nature of the English constitution, doubts sprang up in many, that this commission was contrary to law; and it was represented in that light to James. He forbore therefore renewing the commission till the fifteenth of his reign; when complaints rose so high with regard to the abuses practised in prisons, that he thought himself obliged to overcome his scruples, and to appoint new commissioners invested with the same discretionary powers which Elizabeth had formerly conferred[g].

Upon the whole, we must conceive that monarchy, on the accession of the house of Stuart, was possessed of a very extensive authority: an authority, in the judgment of all, not exactly limited; in the judgment of some, not limitable. But, at the same time, this authority was founded merely on the opinion of the people, influenced by ancient precedent and example. It was not supported either by money or by force of arms. And, for this reason, we need not wonder that the princes of that line were so extremely jealous of their prerogative; being sensible that when those claims were ravished from them, they possessed no influence by which they could maintain

[g] Rymer, tom. xviii. p. 117. 594.

their dignity, or support the laws. By the changes which have since been introduced, the liberty and independence of individuals have been rendered much more full, entire, and secure; those of the public more uncertain and precarious. And it seems a necessary, though perhaps a melancholy truth, that in every government, the magistrate must either possess a large revenue and a military force, or enjoy some discretionary powers, in order to execute the laws and support his own authority.

Ecclesiastical government.

We have had occasion to remark, in so many instances, the bigotry which prevailed in that age, that we can look for no toleration among the different sects. Two Arians, under the title of heretics, were punished by fire during this period; and no one reign since the reformation had been free from like barbarities. Stowe says, that these Arians were offered their pardon at the stake, if they would merit it by a recantation. A madman who called himself the Holy Ghost was, without any indulgence for his frenzy, condemned to the same punishment. Twenty pounds a month could by law be levied on every one who frequented not the established worship. This rigorous law, however, had one indulgent clause, that the fines exacted should not exceed two-thirds of the yearly income of the person. It had been usual for Elizabeth to allow those penalties to run on for several years, and to levy them all at once, to the utter ruin of such Catholics as had incurred her displeasure. James was more humane in this, as in every other respect. The puritans formed a sect which secretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. An attempt of that kind would have been universally regarded as the most unpardonable enormity. And had the king been disposed to grant the puritans a full toleration for a separate exercise of their religion, it is certain, from the spirit of the times, that this sect itself would have despised and hated him for it, and would have reproached him with lukewarmness and indifference in the cause of religion. They maintained, that they themselves were the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be established by law; and that no others ought to be tolerated. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the administration at this time could with propriety deserve the appellation of persecutors with regard to the puritans. Such of the clergy, indeed, as refused to comply with the legal ceremonies, were deprived of their livings, and sometimes, in Elizabeth's reign, were otherwise punished: and ought any man to accept of an office or benefice in an establishment, while he declines compliance with the fixed and known rules of that establishment? But puritans were never punished for frequenting separate congregations; because there were none such in the kingdom; and no Protestant ever assumed or pretended to the right of erecting them. The greatest well-wishers of the puritanical sect would have condemned a practice, which in that age was universally, by statesmen and ecclesiastics, philosophers and zealots, regarded as subversive of civil society. Even so great a reasoner as Lord Bacon thought that uniformity in religion was absolutely necessary to the support of government, and that no toleration could with safety be given to sectaries [h]. Nothing but the imputation of idolatry, which was thrown on the Catholic religion, could justify, in the eyes of the puritans themselves, the schism made by the Hugonots and other Protestants who lived in popish countries.

In all former ages, not wholly excepting even those of Greece and Rome, religious sects and heresies and schisms had been esteemed dangerous, if not pernicious, to civil government, and were regarded as the source of faction, and private combination, and opposition to the laws [i]. The magistrate, therefore, applied himself directly to the cure of this evil as of every other; and very naturally attempted by penal statutes to suppress those separate communities, and punish the obstinate innovators. But it was found by fatal experience, and after spilling an ocean of blood in those theological quarrels, that the evil was of a peculiar nature, and was both inflamed by violent remedies, and diffused itself more rapidly throughout the whole society. Hence, though late, arose the paradoxical principle and salutary practice of toleration.

The liberty of the press was incompatible with such maxims and such principles of government as then prevailed, and was therefore quite unknown in that age. Besides employing the two terrible courts of star-chamber and high commission, whose powers were unlimited, Queen Elizabeth exerted her authority by restraints upon the press. She passed a decree in her court of star-chamber, that is, by her own will and pleasure, forbidding any book to be printed in any place, but in London, Oxford, and Cambridge[k]: and another, in which she prohibited, under severe penalties, the publishing of any book or pamphlet *against the form or meaning of any restraint or ordinance, contained or to be contained, in any statute or laws of this realm, or in any injunction made or set forth by her majesty or her privy council, or against the true sense or meaning of any letters patent, commissions, or prohibitions under the great seal of England*[l]. James extended the same penalties to the importing of such books from abroad[m]. And to render these edicts more effectual, he afterwards inhibited the printing of any book without a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, or the vice-chancellor of one of the universities, or of some person appointed by them[n].

---

[h] See his essay *De unitate ecclesiæ.*

[i] See Cicero de Legibus.

In tracing the coherence among the systems of modern theology, we may observe, that the doctrine of absolute decrees has ever been intimately connected with the enthusiastic spirit; as that doctrine affords the highest subject of joy, triumph, and security to the supposed elect, and exalts them by infinite degrees above the rest of mankind. All the first reformers adopted these principles; and the Jansenists too, a fanatical sect in France, not to mention the Mahometans in Asia, have ever embraced them. As the Lutheran establishments were subjected to episcopal jurisdiction, their enthusiastic genius gradually decayed, and men had leisure to perceive the absurdity of supposing God to punish by infinite torments what he himself from all eternity had unchangeably decreed. The king, though at this time his Calvinistic education had riveted him in the doctrine of absolute decrees, yet, being a zealous partisan of episcopacy, was insensibly engaged, towards the end of his reign, to favour the milder theology of Arminius. Even in so great a doctor, the genius of the religion prevailed over its speculative tenets; and with him the whole clergy gradually dropped the more rigid principles of absolute reprobation and unconditional decrees. Some noise was at first made about these innovations; but being drowned in the fury of factions and civil wars which ensued, the scholastic arguments made an insignificant figure amidst those violent disputes about civil and ecclesiastical power with which the nation was agitated. And at the restoration, the church, though she still retained her old subscriptions and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her speculative doctrines, and to have embraced tenets more suitable to the genius of her discipline and worship, without its being possible to assign the precise period in which the alteration was produced.

---

[k] 28th of Elizabeth. See State Trials. Sir Robert Knightly, vol. vii. edit. 1st.

[l] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 522.

[m] Id. ibid.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 616.

Appendix.

It may be worth observing, that James, from his great desire to promote controversial divinity, erected a college at Chelsea for the entertainment of twenty persons, who should be entirely employed in refuting the papists and puritans[o]. All the efforts of the great Bacon could not procure an establishment for the cultivation of natural philosophy: even to this day, no society has been instituted for the polishing and fixing of our language. The only encouragement which the sovereign in England has ever given to any thing that has the appearance of science, was this short-lived establishment of James; an institution quite superfluous, considering the unhappy propension which at that time so universally possessed the nation for polemical theology.

Manners.

The manners of the nation were agreeable to the monarchical government which prevailed; and contained not that strange mixture which at present distinguishes England from all other countries. Such violent extremes were then unknown of industry and debauchery, frugality and profusion, civility and rusticity, fanaticism and scepticism. Candour, sincerity, modesty, are the only qualities which the English of that age possessed in common with the present.

High pride of family then prevailed; and it was by a dignity and stateliness of behaviour, that the gentry and nobility distinguished themselves from the common people. Great riches acquired by commerce were more rare, and had not as yet been able to confound all ranks of men, and render money the chief foundation of distinction. Much ceremony took place in the common intercourse of life, and little familiarity was indulged by the great. The advantages which result from opulence are so solid and real, that those who are possessed of them need not dread the near approaches of their inferiors. The distinctions of birth and title being more empty and imaginary, soon vanish upon familiar access and acquaintance.

---

[o] Kennet, p. 665. Camden's Brit. vol. i. p. 370. Gibson's edit.

The expenses of the great consisted in pomp and show, and a numerous retinue, rather than in convenience and true pleasure. The Earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended by five hundred persons. The Earl of Hertford, in that to Brussels, carried three hundred gentlemen along with him. Lord Bacon has remarked, that the English nobility in his time maintained a larger retinue of servants than the nobility of any other nation, except, perhaps, the Polanders[p].

Civil honours, which now hold the first place, were at that time subordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility were fond of distinguishing themselves by arms. The fury of duels too prevailed more than at any time before or since[q]. This was the turn that the romantic chivalry, for which the nation was formerly so renowned, had lately taken.

Liberty of commerce between the sexes was indulged; but without any licentiousness of manners. The court was very little an exception to this observation. James had rather entertained an aversion and contempt for the females, nor were those young courtiers, of whom he was so fond, able to break through the established manners of the nation.

The first sedan-chair seen in England was in this reign, and was used by the Duke of Buckingham; to the great indignation of the people, who exclaimed, that he was employing his fellow-creatures to do the service of beasts.

---

[p] Essays, De profer. fin. imp.

[q] Franklyn, p. 5. See also Lord Herbert's Memoirs.

Appendix.

The country life prevails at present in England beyond any cultivated nation of Europe; but it was then much more generally embraced by all the gentry. The increase of arts, pleasures, and social commerce, was just beginning to produce an inclination for the softer and more civilized life of the city. James discouraged, as much as possible, this alteration of manners. "He was wont to be very earnest," as Lord Bacon tells us, "with the country gentlemen, to go from London to their country seats. And sometimes he would say thus to them: *Gentlemen, at London you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things*[r]."

He was not content with reproof and exhortation. As Queen Elizabeth had perceived with regret the increase of London, and had restrained all new buildings by proclamation, James, who found that these edicts were not exactly obeyed, frequently renewed them, though a strict execution seems still to have been wanting. He also issued reiterated proclamations in imitation of his predecessor, containing severe menaces against the gentry who lived in town[s]. This policy is contrary to that which has ever been practised by all princes who studied the increase of their authority. To allure the nobility to court; to engage them in expensive pleasures or employments which dissipate their fortune; to increase their subjection to ministers by attendance; to weaken their authority in the provinces by absence: these have been the common arts of arbitrary government. But James, besides that he had certainly laid no plan for extending his power, had no money to support a splendid court, or bestow on a numerous retinue of gentry and nobility. He thought, too, that by their living together they became more sensible of their own strength, and were apt to indulge too curious researches into matters of government. To remedy the present evil, he was desirous of dispersing them into their country-seats: where, he hoped, they would bear a more submissive reverence to his authority; and receive less support from each other. But the contrary effect soon followed. The riches amassed

---

[r] Apophthegms.

[s] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 632.

Appendix. during their residence at home rendered them independent. The influence acquired by hospitality made them formidable. They would not be led by the court: they could not be driven: and thus the system of the English government received a total and a sudden alteration in the course of less than forty years.

The first rise of commerce and the arts had contributed, in preceding reigns, to scatter those immense fortunes of the barons which rendered them so formidable both to king and people. The farther progress of these advantages began during this reign to ruin the small proprietors of land[t]; and, by both events, the gentry, or that rank which composed the House of Commons, enlarged their power and authority. The early improvements in luxury were seized by the greater nobles, whose fortunes placing them above frugality or even calculation, were soon dissipated in expensive pleasures. These improvements reached, at last, all men of property; and those of slender fortunes, who at that time were often men of family, imitating those of a rank immediately above them, reduced themselves to poverty. Their lands, coming to sale, swelled the estates of those who possessed riches sufficient for the fashionable expenses, but who were not exempted from some care and attention to their domestic economy.

The gentry, also, of that age were engaged in no expense, except that of country hospitality. No taxes were levied, no wars waged, no attendance at court expected, no bribery or profusion required at elections[u]. Could human nature ever reach happiness, the condition of the English gentry, under so mild and benign a prince, might merit that appellation.

Finances. The amount of the king's revenue, as it stood in 1617, is thus stated[w]: of crown lands, eighty thousand pounds a year; by customs and new impositions, near one hundred and ninety thousand; by wards, and other various branches of revenue, besides purveyance, one hundred and eighty thousand; the whole amounting to four hundred and fifty thousand. The king's ordinary disbursements, by the same account, are said to exceed this sum thirty-six thousand pounds[x]. All the extraordinary sums which James had raised by subsidies, loans, sale of lands, sale of the title of baronet, money paid by the states, and by the King of France, benevolences, &c. were, in the whole, about two millions two hundred thousand pounds, of which the sale of lands afforded seven hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds. The extraordinary disbursements of the king amounted to two millions, besides above four hundred thousand pounds given in presents. Upon the whole, a sufficient reason appears, partly from necessary expenses, partly for want of a rigid economy, why the king, even early in his reign, was deeply involved in debt, and found great difficulty to support the government.

---

[t] Cabala, p. 224, first edit.

[u] Men seem then to have been ambitious of representing the counties, but careless of the boroughs. A seat in the House was, in itself, of small importance. But the former became a point of honour among the gentlemen. Journ. 10th Feb. 1620. Towns which had formerly neglected their right of sending members now began to claim it. Journ. 26th Feb. 1623.

[w] An abstract or brief declaration of his majesty's revenue, with the assignations and defalcations upon the same.

Farmers, not commissioners, levied the customs. It seems, indeed, requisite, that the former method should always be tried before the latter, though a preferable one. When men's own interest is concerned, they fall upon a hundred expedients to prevent frauds in the merchants; and these the public may afterwards imitate, in establishing proper rules for its officers.

The customs were supposed to amount to five *per cent.* of the value, and were levied upon exports as well as imports. Nay, the imposition upon exports, by James's additions, is said to amount, in some few instances, to twenty-five *per cent.* This practice, so hurtful to industry, prevails still in France, Spain, and most countries of Europe. The customs, in 1604, yielded one hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds a year[y]. They rose to one hundred and ninety thousand towards the end of the reign.

Interest, during this reign, was at ten *per cent.* till 1624, when it was reduced to eight. This high interest is an indication of the great profits and small progress of commerce.

The extraordinary supplies granted by Parliament during this whole reign amounted not to more than six hundred and thirty thousand pounds, which, divided among twenty-one years, makes thirty thousand pounds

---

[x] The excess was formerly greater, as appears by Salisbury's account. See chap. ii.

[y] Journ. 21st May, 1604.

Appendix. a year. I do not include those supplies, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, which were given to the king by his last Parliament. These were paid in to their own commissioners, and the expenses of the Spanish war were much more than sufficient to exhaust them. The distressed family of the Palatine was a great burden on James during part of his reign. The king, it is pretended, possessed not frugality proportioned to the extreme narrowness of his revenue. Splendid equipages, however, he did not affect, nor costly furniture, nor a luxurious table, nor prodigal mistresses. His buildings, too, were not sumptuous; though the Banqueting-house must not be forgotten, as a monument which does honour to his reign. Hunting was his chief amusement, the cheapest pleasure in which a king can indulge himself. His expenses were the effects of liberality, rather than of luxury.

One day, it is said, while he was standing amidst some of his courtiers, a porter passed by, loaded with money, which he was carrying to the treasury. The king observed that Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland, one of his handsome, agreeable favourites, whispered something to one standing near him. Upon inquiry, he found that Rich had said, *How happy would that money make me!* Without hesitation James bestowed it all upon him, though it amounted to three thousand pounds. He added, *You think yourself very happy in obtaining so large a sum, but I am more happy in having an opportunity of obliging a worthy man, whom I love.* The generosity of James was more the result of a benign humour or light fancy, than of reason or judgment. The objects of it were such as could render themselves agreeable to him in his loose hours, not such as were endowed with great merit, or who possessed talents or popularity which could strengthen his interest with the public.

The same advantage, we may remark, over the people, which the crown formerly reaped from that interval between the fall of the Peers and the rise of the Commons, was now possessed by the people against the crown, during the continuance of a like interval. The sovereign had already lost that independent revenue, by which he could subsist without regular supplies from Parliament, and he had not yet acquired the means of influencing

Appendix.

those assemblies. The effects of this situation, which commenced with the accession of the house of Stuart, soon rose to a great height, and were more or less propagated throughout all the reigns of that unhappy family.

Subsidies and fifteenths are frequently mentioned by historians, but neither the amount of these taxes nor the method of levying them have been well explained. It appears, that the fifteenths formerly corresponded to the name, and were that proportionable part of the moveables[z]. But a valuation having been made in the reign of Edward III., that valuation was always adhered to, and each town paid unalterably a particular sum, which the inhabitants themselves assessed upon their fellow-citizens. The same tax in corporate towns was called a tenth, because there it was at first a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a tenth and a fifteenth throughout the kingdom, or a fifteenth, as it is often more concisely called, was about twenty-nine thousand pounds[a]. The amount of a subsidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the eighth of Elizabeth a subsidy amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds: in the fortieth it was not above seventy-eight thousand[b]. It afterwards fell to seventy thousand, and was continually decreasing[c]. The reason is easily collected from the method of levying it. We may learn from the subsidy bills[d], that one subsidy was given for four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on moveables throughout the counties; a considerable tax, had it been strictly levied. But this was only the ancient state of a subsidy. During the reign of James, there was not paid the twentieth part of that sum. The tax was so far personal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, though he should possess estates in other counties; and the assessors formed a loose estimation of his property, and rated him accordingly. To preserve, however, some rule in the estimation, it seems to have been the practice to keep an eye to former assessments, and to rate every man according as his ancestors, or men of such an estimated property were accustomed to pay. This was

---

[z] Coke's Inst. book iv. chap. 1. of fifteenths, quinzins.

[a] Id. Subsidies temporary.

[b] Journ. 11th July, 1610.

[c] Coke's Inst. book iv. chap. 1. subsidies temporary.

[d] See Statutes at Large.

Appendix. a sufficient reason why subsidies could not increase, notwithstanding the great increase of money and rise of rents. But there was an evident reason why they continually decreased. The favour, as is natural to suppose, ran always against the crown; especially during the latter end of Elizabeth, when subsidies became numerous and frequent, and the sums levied were considerable compared to former supplies. The assessors, though accustomed to have an eye to ancient estimations, were not bound to observe any such rule, but might rate anew any person, according to his present income. When rents fell, or part of an estate was sold off, the proprietor was sure to represent these losses, and obtain a diminution of his subsidy; but where rents rose, or new lands were purchased, he kept his own secret, and paid no more than formerly. The advantage, therefore, of every change was taken against the crown, and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. And to make the matter worse, the alterations which happened in property during this age were generally unfavourable to the crown. The small proprietors, or twenty pound men, went continually to decay; and when their estates were swallowed up by greater, the new purchaser increased not his subsidy. So loose, indeed, is the whole method of rating subsidies, that the wonder was not how the tax should continually diminish, but how it yielded any revenue at all. It became at last so unequal and uncertain, that the Parliament was obliged to change it into a land tax.

The price of corn during this reign, and that of the other necessaries of life, was no lower, or was rather higher, than at present. By a proclamation of James, establishing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty-two shillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, barley below sixteen, the commissioners were empowered to purchase corn for the magazines[e]. These prices, then, are to be regarded as low, though they would rather pass for high by our present estimation. The usual bread of the poor was at this time made of barley[f]. The best wool, during the greater part of James's reign, was at thirty-three shillings a tod[g]. At present it is not above

---

[e] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 526. To the same purpose, see also, 21 Jac. I. cap. 18.

[f] Rymer, tom. xx. p. 15.

[g] See a compendium or dialogue inserted in the Memoirs of Wool, chap. 23.

Appendix.

two-thirds of that value; though it is to be presumed, that our exports in woollen goods are somewhat increased. The finer manufactures, too, by the progress of arts and industry, have rather diminished in price, notwithstanding the great increase of money. In Shakspeare, the hostess tells Falstaff, that the shirts she bought him were holland at eight shillings a yard; a high price at this day, even supposing, what is not probable, that the best holland at that time was equal in goodness to the best that can now be purchased. In like manner, a yard of velvet, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, was valued at two and twenty shillings. It appears from Dr. Birch's Life of Prince Henry[h], that that prince, by contract with his butcher, paid near a groat a pound, throughout the year, for all the beef and mutton used in his family. Besides, we must consider, that the general turn of that age, which no laws could prevent, was the converting of arable land into pasture; a certain proof that the latter was found more profitable, and consequently, that all butcher's meat, as well as bread, was rather higher than at present. We have a regulation of the market, with regard to poultry and some other articles, very early in Charles I.'s reign[i]; and the prices are high. A turkey-cock four shillings and sixpence, a turkey-hen three shillings, a pheasant-cock six, a pheasant-hen five, a partridge one shilling, a goose two, a capon two and sixpence, a pullet one and sixpence, a rabbit eight-pence, a dozen of pigeons six shillings[k]. We must consider that London at present is more than three times more populous than it was at that time; a circumstance which much increases the price of poultry, and of every thing that cannot conveniently be brought from a distance: not to mention that these regulations by authority are always calculated to diminish, never to increase, the market prices. The contractors for victualling the navy were allowed by government eight-pence a day for the diet of each man when in harbour, seven-pence half-penny when at sea[l], which would suffice at present. The chief difference in

---

[h] P. 449.

[i] Rymer, tom. xix. p. 511.

[k] We may judge of the great grievance of purveyance by this circumstance, that the purveyors often gave but sixpence for a dozen of pigeons, and two-pence for a fowl. Journ. 25th May, 1626.

[l] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 441, et seq.

Appendix.

expense between that age and the present consists in the imaginary wants of men, which have since extremely multiplied. These[m] are the principal reasons why James's revenue would go farther than the same money in our time, though the difference is not near so great as is usually imagined.

Arms.

The public was entirely free from the danger and expense of a standing army. While James was vaunting his divine vicegerency, and boasting of his high prerogative, he possessed not so much as a single regiment of guards to maintain his extensive claims: a sufficient proof that he sincerely believed his pretensions to be well grounded, and a strong presumption that they were at least built on what were then deemed plausible arguments. The militia of England, amounting to one hundred and sixty thousand men[n], was the sole defence of the kingdom. It is pretended that they were kept in good order during this reign[o]. The city of London procured officers who had served abroad, and who taught the trained bands their exercises in Artillery-garden; a practice which had been discontinued since 1588. All the counties of England, in emulation of the capital, were fond of showing a well-ordered and well-appointed militia. It appeared that the natural propensity of men towards military shows and exercises will go far, with a little attention in the sovereign, towards exciting and supporting this spirit in any nation. The very boys, at that time, in mimicry of their elders, enlisted themselves voluntarily into companies, elected officers, and practised the discipline, of which the models were every day exposed to their view[p]. Sir Edward Harwood, in a memorial composed at the beginning of the subsequent reign, says, that England was so unprovided with horses fit for war, that two thousand men could not possibly be mounted throughout the whole kingdom[q]. At present the breed of horses is so much improved, that almost all those which are employed either in the plough, waggon, or coach, would be fit for that purpose.

---

[m] This volume was written above twenty-eight years before the edition of 1786. In that short period, prices have perhaps risen more than during the preceding hundred and fifty.

[n] Journ. 1st March, 1623.

[o] Stowe. See also Sir Walter Raleigh of the Prerogatives of Parliament, and Johnston, Hist. lib. 18.

[p] Stowe.

[q] In the Harleyan Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 255.

The disorders of Ireland obliged James to keep up some forces there, and put him to great expense. The common pay of a private man in the infantry was eight-pence a day, a lieutenant two shillings, an ensign eighteen-pence[r]. The armies in Europe were not near so numerous during that age; and the private men, we may observe, were drawn from a better rank than at present, and approaching nearer to that of the officers.

In the year 1583 there was a general review made of all the men in England capable of bearing arms; and these were found to amount to one million one hundred and seventy-two thousand men, according to Raleigh[s]. It is impossible to warrant the exactness of this computation, or rather we may fairly presume it to be somewhat inaccurate. But if it approached near the truth, England has probably since that time increased in populousness. The growth of London, in riches and beauty, as well as in numbers of inhabitants, has been prodigious. From 1600 it doubled every forty years[t]; and consequently, in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants as at the beginning of the century. It has ever been the centre of all the trade in the kingdom, and almost the only town that affords society and amusement. The affection which the English bear to a country life makes the provincial towns be little frequented by the gentry. Nothing but the allurements of the capital, which is favoured by the residence of the king, and by being the seat of government, and of all the courts of justice, can prevail over their passion for their rural villas.

London at this time was almost entirely built of wood, and in every respect was certainly a very ugly city. The Earl of Arundel first introduced the general practice of brick buildings[u].

Navy.

The navy of England was esteemed formidable in Elizabeth's time, yet it consisted only of thirty-three ships, besides pinnaces[w]; and the largest of these would not equal our fourth-rates at present. Raleigh advises never to

---

[r] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 717.

[s] Of the Invention of Shipping. This number is much superior to that contained in Murden, and that delivered by Sir Edward Coke to the House of Commons, and is more likely.

[t] Sir William Petty.

[u] Sir Edward Walker's Political Discourses, p. 270.

[w] Coke's Inst. book iv. chap. i. Consultation in Parliament for the navy.

Appendix. build a ship of war above six hundred tons [x]. James was not negligent of the navy. In five years preceding 1623, he built ten new ships, and expended fifty thousand pounds a year on the fleet, beside the value of thirty-six thousand pounds in timber, which he annually gave from the royal forests [y]. The largest ship that had ever come from the English docks was built during this reign. She was only fourteen hundred tons, and carried sixty-four guns [z]. The merchant-ships, in cases of necessity, were instantly converted into ships of war. The king affirmed to the Parliament, that the navy had never before been in so good a condition [a].

Commerce. Every session of Parliament during this reign, we meet with grievous lamentations concerning the decay of trade and the growth of popery: such violent propensity have men to complain of the present times, and to entertain discontent against their fortune and condition. The king himself was deceived by these popular complaints, and was at a loss to account for the total want of money, which he heard so much exaggerated [b]. It may, however, be affirmed, that during no preceding period of English history was there a more sensible increase, than during the reign of this monarch, of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people. Not only the peace which he maintained was favourable to industry and commerce: his turn of mind inclined him to promote the peaceful arts: and trade being yet in its infancy, all additions to it must have been the more evident to every eye which was not blinded by melancholy prejudices [c].

By an account [d], which seems judicious and accurate, it appears that all the seamen employed in the merchant-service amounted to ten thousand men, which probably exceeds not the fifth part of their present number. Sir Thomas Overbury says, that the Dutch possessed three times more shipping than the English, but that their ships were of inferior burden to those of the latter[e]. Sir William Monson computed the English naval power to be little or nothing inferior to the Dutch[f], which is surely an exaggeration. The Dutch at this time traded to England with six hundred ships; England to Holland with sixty only[g].

---

[x] By Raleigh's account, in his Discourse on the first Invention of Shipping, the fleet, in the twenty-fourth of the queen, consisted only of thirteen ships, and was augmented afterwards eleven. He probably reckoned some to be pinnaces, which Coke called ships.

[y] Journ. 11th March, 1623. Sir William Monson makes the number amount only to nine new ships, p. 253.

[z] Stowe.

[a] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 94.

[b] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 413.

[c] See note [T T], at the end of the volume.

[d] The trade's increase, in the Harleyan Misc. vol. iii.

Manufactures.

A catalogue of the manufactures, for which the English were then eminent, would appear very contemptible, in comparison of those which flourish among them at present. Almost all the more elaborate and curious arts were only cultivated abroad, particularly in Italy, Holland, and the Netherlands. Ship-building, and the founding of iron cannon, were the sole in which the English excelled. They seem, indeed, to have possessed alone the secret of the latter, and great complaints were made every Parliament against the exportation of English ordnance.

Nine-tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen goods[h]. Wool, however, was allowed to be exported till the nineteenth of the king; its exportation was then forbidden by proclamation, though that edict was never strictly executed. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dressed by the Dutch, who gained, it is pretended, seven hundred thousand pounds a year by this manufacture[i]. A proclamation issued by the king against exporting cloth in that condition had succeeded so ill during one year, by the refusal of the Dutch to buy the dressed cloth, that great murmurs arose against it; and this measure was retracted by the king, and complained of by the nation, as if it had been the most impolitic in the world. It seems, indeed, to have been premature.

In so little credit was the fine English cloth even at home, that the king was obliged to seek expedients by which he might engage the people of fashion to wear it[k].

---

[e] Remarks on his Travels, Harleyan Misc. vol. ii. p. 349.

[f] Naval Tracts, p. 329. 350.

[g] Raleigh's Observations.

[h] Journ. 26th May, 1621.

[i] Journ. 20th May, 1614. Raleigh, in his Observations, computes the loss at four hundred thousand pounds to the nation. There are about eighty thousand undressed cloths, says he, exported yearly. He computes, besides, that about one hundred thousand pounds a year had been lost by kerseys, not to mention other articles. The account of two hundred thousand cloths a year exported in Elizabeth's reign seems to be exaggerated.

[k] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 415.

Appendix. The manufacture of fine linen was totally unknown in the kingdom[l].

The company of merchant-adventurers, by their patent, possessed the sole commerce of woollen goods, though the staple commodity of the kingdom. An attempt made, during the reign of Elizabeth, to lay open this important trade, had been attended with bad consequences for a time, by a conspiracy of the merchant-adventurers not to make any purchases of cloth; and the queen immediately restored them their patent.

It was the groundless fear of a like accident, that enslaved the nation to those exclusive companies, which confined so much every branch of commerce and industry. The Parliament, however, annulled, in the third of the king, the patent of the Spanish company; and the trade to Spain, which was at first very insignificant, soon became the most considerable in the kingdom. It is strange that they were not thence encouraged to abolish all the other companies, and that they went no farther than obliging them to enlarge their bottom, and to facilitate the admission of new adventurers.

A board of trade was erected by the king in 1622[m]. One of the reasons assigned in the commission is to remedy the low price of wool, which begat complaints of the decay of the woollen manufactory. It is more probable, however, that this fall of prices proceeded from the increase of wool. The king likewise recommends it to the commissioners to inquire and examine, whether a greater freedom of trade, and an exemption from the restraint of exclusive companies, would not be beneficial. Men were then fettered by their own prejudices; and the king was justly afraid of embracing a bold measure, whose consequences might be uncertain. The digesting of a navigation act, of a like nature with the famous one executed afterwards by the republican Parliament, is likewise recommended to the commissioners. The arbitrary powers then commonly assumed by the privy-council appear evidently through the whole tenor of the commission.

The silk manufacture had no footing in England; but, by James's direction, mulberry-trees were planted, and silk-worms introduced[n]. The climate seems unfavourable to the success of this project. The planting of hops increased much in England during this reign.

---

[l] Rymer, tom. xvii p. 415.

[m] Id. ibid. p. 410.

Greenland is thought to have been discovered about this period, and the whale fishery was carried on with success; but the industry of the Dutch, in spite of all opposition, soon deprived the English of this source of riches. A company was erected for the discovery of the north-west passage, and many fruitless attempts were made for that purpose. In such noble projects despair ought never to be admitted till the absolute impossibility of success be fully ascertained.

The passage to the East Indies had been opened to the English during the reign of Elizabeth; but the trade to those parts was not entirely established till this reign, when the East India Company received a new patent, enlarged their stock to one million five hundred thousand pounds[o], and fitted out several ships on these adventures. In 1609, they built a vessel of twelve hundred tons, the largest merchant-ship that England had ever known. She was unfortunate, and perished by shipwreck. In 1611, a large ship of the company, assisted by a pinnace, maintained five several engagements with a squadron of Portuguese, and gained a complete victory over forces much superior. During the following years, the Dutch company was guilty of great injuries towards the English, in expelling many of their factors, and destroying their settlements; but these violences were resented with a proper spirit by the court of England. A naval force was equipped under the Earl of Oxford[p], and lay in wait for the return of the Dutch East India fleet. By reason of cross winds, Oxford failed of his purpose, and the Dutch escaped. Some time after, one rich ship was taken by Vice-admiral Merwin; and it was stipulated by the Dutch to pay seventy thousand pounds to the English company, in consideration of the losses which that company had sustained[q]. But neither this stipulation, nor the fear of reprisals, nor the sense of that friendship which subsisted between England and the states, could restrain the avidity of the Dutch company, or

---

[n] Stowe.

[o] Journ. 26th Nov. 1621.

[p] In 1622.

[q] Johnston, Hist. lib. 19.

Appendix.

render them equitable in their proceedings towards their allies. Impatient to have the sole possession of the spice trade, which the English then shared with them, they assumed a jurisdiction over a factory of the latter in the island of Amboyna; and on very improbable, and even absurd pretences, seized all their factors with their families, and put them to death with the most inhuman tortures. This dismal news arrived in England at the time when James, by the prejudices of his subjects, and the intrigues of his favourite, was constrained to make a breach with Spain; and he was obliged, after some remonstrances, to acquiesce in this indignity from a state whose alliance was now become necessary to him. It is remarkable, that the nation, almost without a murmur, submitted to this injury from their protestant confederates; an injury which, besides the horrid enormity of the action, was of much deeper importance to national interest, than all those which they were so impatient to resent from the house of Austria.

The exports of England from Christmas 1612 to Christmas 1613 are computed at two million four hundred and eighty-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-five pounds; the imports at two million one hundred and forty-one thousand one hundred and fifty-one; so that the balance in favour of England was three hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred and eighty-four[r]. But, in 1622, the exports were two million three hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-six pounds; the imports two million six hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and fifteen; which makes a balance of two hundred and ninety-eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds against England[s]. The coinage of England, from 1599 to 1619, amounted to four million seven hundred and seventy-nine thousand three hundred and fourteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence[t]: a proof that the balance in the main was considerably in favour of the kingdom. As the annual imports and exports together rose to near five millions, and the customs never yielded so much as two hundred thousand pounds a year, of which tonnage made a part, it appears that the new rates affixed by James did not, on the whole, amount to one shilling in the pound, and consequently were still inferior to the intention of the original grant of Parliament. The East India Company usually carried out a third of their cargo in commodities[u]. The trade to Turkey was one of the most gainful to the nation[w]. It appears that copper halfpence and farthings began to be coined in this reign[x]. Tradesmen had commonly carried on their retail business chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The small silver penny was soon lost, and at this time was no where to be found.

---

[r] Misselden's Circle of Commerce, p. 121.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Happy future State of England, p. 78.

Colonies.

What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, is the commencement of the English colonies in America; colonies established on the noblest footing that has been known in any age or nation. The Spaniards, being the first discoverers of the new world, immediately took possession of the precious mines which they found there; and, by the allurement of great riches, they were tempted to depopulate their own country, as well as that which they conquered: and added the vice of sloth to those of avidity and barbarity, which had attended their adventurers in those renowned enterprises. That fine coast was entirely neglected, which reaches from St. Augustin to Cape Breton, and which lies in all the temperate climates, is watered by noble rivers, and offers a fertile soil, but nothing more to the industrious planter. Peopled gradually from England by the necessitous and indigent, who at home increased neither wealth nor populousness, the colonies which were planted along that tract have promoted the navigation, encouraged the industry, and even perhaps multiplied the inhabitants of their mother-country. The spirit of independency, which was reviving in England, here shone forth in its full lustre, and received new accession from the aspiring character of those who, being discontented with the established church and monarchy, had sought for freedom amidst those savage deserts.

Queen Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and after her plant-

---

[u] Munn's Discourse on the East India Trade.

[w] Ibid. p. 17.

[x] Anderson, vol. i. p. 477.

Appendix.

ing one feeble colony, which quickly decayed, that country was entirely abandoned. But when peace put an end to the military enterprises against Spain, and left ambitious spirits no hopes of making any longer such rapid advances towards honour and fortune, the nation began to second the pacific intentions of its monarch, and to seek a surer, though slower expedient, for acquiring riches and glory. In 1606, Newport carried over a colony, and began a settlement, which the company, erected by patent for that purpose in London and Bristol, took care to supply with yearly recruits of provisions, utensils, and new inhabitants. About 1609, Argal discovered a more direct and shorter passage to Virginia, and left the track of the ancient navigators, who had first directed their course southwards to the tropic, sailed westward by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward, till they reached the English settlements. The same year five hundred persons under Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were embarked for Virginia. Somers's ship, meeting with a tempest, was driven into the Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a settlement in those islands. Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the English colonies: but notwithstanding all his care, seconded by supplies from James, and by money raised from the first lottery ever known in the kingdom, such difficulties attended the settlement of these countries, that in 1614 there were not alive more than four hundred men, of all that had been sent thither. After supplying themselves with provisions more immediately necessary for the support of life, the new planters began the cultivating of tobacco; and James, notwithstanding his antipathy to that drug, which he affirmed to be pernicious to men's morals as well as their health [y], gave them permission to enter it in England; and he inhibited by proclamation all importation of it from Spain [z]. By degrees new colonies were established in that continent, and gave new names to the places where they settled, leaving that of Virginia to the province first planted. The island of Barbadoes was also planted in this reign.

Speculative reasoners, during that age, raised many objections to the planting of those remote colonies; and foretold that, after draining their mother-country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America: but time has shown that the views entertained by those who encouraged such generous undertakings were more just and solid. A mild government and great naval force have preserved, and may still preserve during some time, the dominion of England over her colonies; and such advantages have commerce and navigation reaped from these establishments, that more than a fourth of the English shipping is at present computed to be employed in carrying on the traffic with the American settlements.

---

[y] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 621.

[z] Ibid. tom. xviii. p. 621. 633.

Agriculture was anciently very imperfect in England. The sudden transitions, so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest price of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value in different years, are sufficient proofs that the produce depended entirely on the seasons, and that art had as yet done nothing to fence against the injuries of the heavens. During this reign considerable improvements were made, as in most arts, so in this, the most beneficial of any. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books and pamphlets treating of husbandry, which were written about this time. The nation, however, was still dependent on foreigners for daily bread; and though its exportation of grain now forms a considerable branch of its commerce, notwithstanding its probable increase of people, there was in that period a regular importation from the Baltic, as well as from France; and if it ever stopped, the bad consequences were sensibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Observations, computes, that two millions went out at one time for corn. It was not till the fifth of Elizabeth, that the exportation of corn had been allowed in England; and Camden observes, that agriculture from that moment, received new life and vigour.

The endeavours of James, or, more properly speaking, those of the nation, for promoting trade, were attended with greater success than those for the encouragement of learning. Though the age was by no means destitute of eminent writers, a very bad taste in general prevailed

Appendix. during that period, and the monarch himself was not a little infected with it.

Learning and arts.

On the origin of letters among the Greeks, the genius of poets and orators, as might naturally be expected, was distinguished by an amiable simplicity, which, whatever rudeness may sometimes attend it, is so fitted to express the genuine movements of nature and passion, that the compositions possessed of it must ever appear valuable to the discerning part of mankind. The glaring figures of discourse, the pointed antithesis, the unnatural conceit, the jingle of words; such false ornaments were not employed by early writers; not because they were rejected, but because they scarcely ever occurred to them. An easy unforced strain of sentiment runs through their compositions; though at the same time we may observe, that amidst the most elegant simplicity of thought and expression, one is sometimes surprised to meet with a poor conceit, which had presented itself unsought for, and which the author had not acquired critical observation enough to condemn[a]. A bad taste seizes with avidity these frivolous beauties, and even perhaps a good taste, ere surfeited by them; they multiply every day more and more in the fashionable compositions; nature and good sense are neglected, laboured ornaments studied and admired, and a total degeneracy of style and language prepares the way for barbarism and ignorance. Hence the Asiatic manner was found to depart so much from the simple purity of Athens; hence that tinsel eloquence which is observable in many of the Roman writers, from which Cicero himself is not wholly exempted, and which so much prevails in Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, and the Plinys.

On the revival of letters, when the judgment of the public is yet raw and uninformed, this false glitter catches the eye, and leaves no room, either in eloquence or poetry, for the durable beauties of solid sense and lively passion. The reigning genius is then diametrically opposite to that which prevails on the first origin of arts. The Italian writers, it is evident, even the most celebrated, have not reached the proper simplicity of thought and composition; and in Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini, frivolous witticisms and forced conceits are but too predominant. The period during which letters were cultivated in Italy was so short, as scarcely to allow leisure for correcting this adulterated relish.

---

[a] The name of Polynices, one of Œdipus's sons, means in the original *much quarrelling*. In the altercations between the two brothers, in Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, this conceit is employed; and it is remarkable, that so poor a conundrum could not be rejected by any of these three poets, so justly celebrated for their taste and simplicity. What could Shakspeare have done worse? Terence has his *inceptio est amentium, non amantium*. Many similar instances will occur to the learned. It is well known, that Aristotle treats very seriously of puns, divides them into several classes, and recommends the use of them to orators.

The more early French writers are liable to the same reproach. Voiture, Balzac, even Corneille, have too much affected those ambitious ornaments, of which the Italians in general, and the least pure of the ancients, supplied them with so many models; and it was not till late, that observation and reflection gave rise to a more natural turn of thought and composition among that elegant people.

A like character may be extended to the first English writers; such as flourished during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and even till long afterwards. Learning, on its revival in this island, was attired in the same unnatural garb which it wore at the time of its decay among the Greeks and Romans; and, what may be regarded as a misfortune, the English writers were possessed of great genius before they were endowed with any degree of taste, and by that means gave a kind of sanction to those forced turns and sentiments which they so much affected. Their distorted conceptions and expressions are attended with such vigour of mind, that we admire the imagination which produced them, as much as we blame the want of judgment which gave them admittance. To enter into an exact criticism of the writers of that age would exceed our present purpose. A short character of the most eminent, delivered with the same freedom which history exercises over kings and ministers, may not be improper. The national prepossessions which prevail will perhaps render the former liberty not the least perilous for an author.

If Shakspeare be considered as a MAN, born in a rude age, and educated in the lowest manner, without any instruction, either from the world or from books, he may

Appendix. be regarded as a prodigy; if represented as a poet, capable of furnishing a proper entertainment to a refined or intelligent audience, we must abate much of this eulogy. In his compositions, we regret that many irregularities, and even absurdities, should so frequently disfigure the animated and passionate scenes intermixed with them; and, at the same time, we perhaps admire the more those beauties, on account of their being surrounded with such deformities. A striking peculiarity of sentiment, adapted to a single character, he frequently hits, as it were, by inspiration; but a reasonable propriety of thought he cannot for any time uphold. Nervous and picturesque expressions as well as descriptions abound in him; but it is in vain we look either for purity or simplicity of diction. His total ignorance of all theatrical art and conduct, however material a defect, yet, as it affects the spectator rather than the reader, we can more easily excuse, than that want of taste which often prevails in his productions, and which gives way only by intervals to the irradiations of genius. A great and fertile genius he certainly possessed, and one enriched equally with a tragic and comic vein; but he ought to be cited as a proof, how dangerous it is to rely on these advantages alone for attaining an excellence in the finer arts[b]. And there may even remain a suspicion that we overrate, if possible, the greatness of his genius; in the same manner as bodies often appear more gigantic, on account of their being disproportioned and misshapen. He died in 1616, aged 53 years.

Jonson possessed all the learning which was wanting to Shakspeare, and wanted all the genius of which the other was possessed. Both of them were equally deficient in taste and elegance, in harmony and correctness. A servile copyist of the ancients, Jonson translated into bad English the beautiful passages of the Greek and Roman authors, without accommodating them to the manners of his age and country. His merit has been totally eclipsed by that of Shakspeare, whose rude genius prevailed over the rude art of his cotemporary. The English theatre has ever since taken a strong tincture of Shakspeare's spirit and character; and thence it has proceeded, that the nation has undergone, from all its neighbours, the reproach of barbarism, from which its valuable productions, in some other parts of learning, would otherwise have exempted it. Jonson had a pension of a hundred marks from the king, which Charles afterwards augmented to a hundred pounds. He died in 1637, aged 63.

---

[b] *Invenire etiam barbari solent, disponere et ornare non nisi eruditus.* PLIN.

Fairfax has translated Tasso with an elegance and ease, and at the same time with an exactness, which for that age are surprising. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correspondent line in the translation. Harrington's translation of Ariosto is not likewise without its merit. It is to be regretted, that these poets should have imitated the Italians in their stanza, which has a prolixity and uniformity in it that displeases in long performances. They had otherwise, as well as Spenser, who went before them, contributed much to the polishing and refining of English versification.

In Donne's satires, when carefully inspected, there appear some flashes of wit and ingenuity; but these totally suffocated and buried, by the hardest and most uncouth expression that is any where to be met with.

If the poetry of the English was so rude and imperfect during that age, we may reasonably expect that their prose would be liable to still greater objections. Though the latter appears the more easy, as it is the more natural method of composition, it has ever, in practice, been found the more rare and difficult; and there scarcely is an instance, in any language, that it has reached a degree of perfection before the refinement of poetical numbers and expression. English prose, during the reign of James, was written with little regard to the rules of grammar, and with a total disregard to the elegance and harmony of the period. Stuffed with Latin sentences and quotations, it likewise imitated those inversions which, however forcible and graceful in the ancient languages, are entirely contrary to the idiom of the English. I shall, indeed, venture to affirm, that whatever uncouth phrases and expressions occur in old books, they were chiefly owing to the unformed taste of the author; and that the language spoken in the courts of Elizabeth and James was very little different from that which we meet with at present in good company. Of this opinion, the little scraps of speeches which are found in the parliamentary journals, and which carry an air so opposite to the laboured orations, seem to be a sufficient proof; and there want not productions of that age, which, being written by men who were not authors by profession, retain a very natural manner, and may give us some idea of the language which prevailed among men of the world. I shall particularly mention Sir John Davis's Discovery, Throgmorton's, Essex's, and Nevil's Letters. In a more early period, Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Wolsey, the pieces that remain of Bishop Gardiner, and Anne Boleyn's letter to the king, differ little or nothing from the language of our time.

The great glory of literature in this island, during the reign of James, was Lord Bacon. Most of his performances were composed in Latin; though he possessed neither the elegance of that, nor of his native tongue. If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man; as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher; he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light in which we view him at present, though very estimable, he was yet inferior to his cotemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a distance the road to true philosophy: Galileo both pointed it out to others, and made himself considerable advances in it. The Englishman was ignorant of geometry: the Florentine revived that science, excelled in it, and was the first that applied it, together with experiment, to natural philosophy. The former rejected, with the most positive disdain, the system of Copernicus; the latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reason and the senses. Bacon's style is stiff and rigid; his wit, though often brilliant, is also often unnatural and far-fetched; and he seems to be the original of those pointed similes and long-spun allegories which so much distinguish the English authors; Galileo is a lively and agreeable, though somewhat a prolix writer. But Italy, not united in any single government, and perhaps satiated with that literary glory which it has possessed both in ancient and modern times, has too much neglected the renown which it has

Appendix.

acquired by giving birth to so great a man. That national spirit which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations as may often appear partial and excessive. He died in 1626, in the 66th year of his age.

If the reader of Raleigh's History can have the patience to wade through the Jewish and Rabbinical learning which compose the half of the volume, he will find, when he comes to the Greek and Roman story, that his pains are not unrewarded. Raleigh is the best model of that ancient style which some writers would affect to revive at present. He was beheaded in 1618, aged 66 years.

Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth may be esteemed good composition, both for style and matter. It is written with simplicity of expression, very rare in that age, and with a regard to truth. It would not, perhaps, be too much to affirm, that it is among the best historical productions which have yet been composed by any Englishman. It is well known that the English have not much excelled in that kind of literature. He died in 1623, aged 73 years.

We shall mention the king himself, at the end of these English writers; because that is *his* place, when considered as an author. It may safely be affirmed, that the mediocrity of James's talents in literature, joined to the great change in national taste, is one cause of that contempt under which his memory labours, and which is often carried by party writers to a great extreme. It is remarkable, how different from ours were the sentiments of the ancients with regard to learning. Of the first twenty Roman emperors, counting from Cæsar to Severus, above the half were authors; and though few of them seem to have been eminent in that profession, it is always remarked to their praise, that by their example they encouraged literature. Not to mention Germanicus, and his daughter Agrippina, persons so nearly allied to the throne, the greater part of the classic writers, whose works remain, were men of the highest quality. As every human advantage is attended with inconveniences, Appendix. the change of men's ideas in this particular may probably be ascribed to the invention of printing, which has rendered books so common, that even men of slender fortunes can have access to them.

That James was but a middling writer may be allowed; that he was a contemptible one, can by no means be admitted. Whoever will read his Basilicon Doron, particularly the two last books, the True Law of free Monarchies, his answer to Cardinal Perron, and almost all his speeches and messages to Parliament, will confess him to have possessed no mean genius. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions, who in that age did not admit the reality of these fictitious beings? If he has composed a commentary on the Revelations, and proved the pope to be antichrist, may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier, and even to Newton, at a time when learning was much more advanced than during the reign of James? From the grossness of its superstitions, we may infer the ignorance of an age; but never should pronounce concerning the folly of an individual, from his admitting popular errors, consecrated by the appearance of religion.

Such a superiority do the pursuits of literature possess above every other occupation, that even he who attains but a mediocrity in them merits the pre-eminence above those that excel the most in the common and vulgar professions. The speaker of the House of Commons is usually an eminent lawyer; yet the harangue of his majesty will always be found much superior to that of the speaker, in every Parliament during his reign.

Every science, as well as polite literature, must be considered as being yet in its infancy. Scholastic learning and polemical divinity retarded the growth of all true knowledge. Sir Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed by which he annexed a salary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says, that geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England[c]. The best learning of that age was the study of the ancients. Casaubon, eminent for this species of knowledge, was invited over from France by James, and encouraged by a pension of three hundred pounds a year, as well as by church preferments[d]. The famous Antonio di Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, no despicable philosopher, came likewise into England, and afforded great triumph to the nation, by their gaining so considerable a proselyte from the papists. But the mortification followed soon after: the archbishop, though advanced to some ecclesiastical preferments[e], received not encouragement sufficient to satisfy his ambition; he made his escape into Italy, where he died in confinement.

---

[c] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 217.

---

[d] Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 709.

[e] Ibid. p. 95.

CHAPTER L.

CHARLES I.

A Parliament at Westminster.—At Oxford.—Naval Expedition against Spain.—Second Parliament.—Impeachment of Buckingham.—Violent Measures of the Court.—War with France.—Expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

CHAP. L.

1625. 27th Mar.

No sooner had Charles taken into his hands the reins of government, than he showed an impatience to assemble the great council of the nation; and he would gladly, for the sake of despatch, have called together the same Parliament which had sitten under his father, and which lay at that time under prorogation. But being told that this measure would appear unusual, he issued writs for summoning a new Parliament on the seventh of May; and it was not without regret that the arrival of the Princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy, obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations, their meeting till the eighteenth of June, when they assembled at Westminster for the despatch of business. The young prince, inexperienced and impolitic, regarded as sincere all the praises and caresses with which he had been loaded, while active in procuring the rupture with the house of Austria; and besides that he laboured under great necessities, he hastened with alacrity to a period when he might receive the most undoubted testimony of the dutiful attachment of his subjects. His discourse to the Parliament was full of simplicity and cordiality. He lightly mentioned the occasion which he had for supply[a]. He employed no intrigue to influence the suffrages of the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown who had seats in the House to mention any particular sum which might be expected by him. Secure of the affections of the Commons, he was resolved that their bounty should be entirely their own deed; unasked, unsolicited; the genuine fruit of sincere confidence and regard.

A Parliament at Westminster. 18th June.

The House of Commons accordingly took into consideration the business of supply. They knew that all the money granted by the last Parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments, and that great anticipations were likewise made on the revenues of the crown. They were not ignorant that Charles was loaded with a large debt, contracted by his father, who had borrowed money both from his own subjects and from foreign princes. They had learned by experience, that the public revenue could with difficulty maintain the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government. They were sensible that the present war was very lately the result of their own importunate applications and entreaties, and that they had solemnly engaged to support their sovereign in the management of it. They were acquainted with the difficulty of military enterprises, directed against the whole house of Austria; against the King of Spain, possessed of the greatest riches and most extensive dominions of any prince in Europe; against the Emperor Ferdinand, hitherto the most fortunate monarch of his age, who had subdued and astonished Germany by the rapidity of his victories. Deep impressions, they saw, must be made by the English sword, and a vigorous offensive war be waged against these mighty potentates, ere they would resign a principality which they had now fully subdued, and which they held in secure possession, by its being surrounded with all their other territories.

---

[a] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 171. Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 346. Franklyn, p. 108.

To answer, therefore, all these great and important ends; to satisfy their young king in the first request which he made them; to prove their sense of the many royal virtues, particularly economy, with which Charles was endowed; the House of Commons, conducted by the wisest and ablest senators that had ever flourished in England, thought proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to one hundred and twelve thousand pounds[b].

This measure, which discovers rather a cruel mockery of Charles than any serious design of supporting him, appears so extraordinary, when considered in all its circumstances, that it naturally summons up our attention, and raises an inquiry concerning the causes of a conduct unprecedented in an English Parliament. So numerous an assembly, composed of persons of various dispositions, was not, it is probable, wholly influenced by the same motives; and few declared openly their true reason. We shall, therefore, approach nearer to the truth, if we mention all the views which the present conjuncture could suggest to them.

---

[b] A subsidy was now fallen to about fifty-six thousand pounds. Cabala, p. 224, first edition.

It is not to be doubted, but spleen and ill-will against the Duke of Buckingham had an influence with many. So vast and rapid a fortune, so little merited, could not fail to excite public envy; and however men's hatred might have been suspended for a moment, while the duke's conduct seemed to gratify their passions and their prejudices, it was impossible for him long to preserve the affections of the people. His influence over the modesty of Charles exceeded even that which he had acquired over the weakness of James, nor was any public measure conducted but by his counsel and direction. His vehement temper prompted him to raise suddenly to the highest elevation his flatterers and dependents; and upon the least occasion of displeasure he threw them down with equal impetuosity and violence. Implacable in his hatred; fickle in his friendships; all men were either regarded as his enemies, or dreaded soon to become such. The whole power of the kingdom was grasped by his insatiable hand; while he both engrossed the entire confidence of his master, and held, invested in his single person, the most considerable offices of the crown.

However the ill-humour of the Commons might have been increased by these considerations, we are not to suppose them the sole motives. The last Parliament of James, amidst all their joy and festivity, had given him a supply very disproportioned to his demand and to the occasion; and as every House of Commons which was elected during forty years succeeded to all the passions and principles of their predecessors, we ought rather to account for this obstinacy from the general situation of the kingdom during that whole period, than from any circumstances which attended this particular conjuncture.

The nation was very little accustomed at that time to the burden of taxes, and had never opened their purses in any degree for supporting their sovereign. Even Elizabeth, notwithstanding her vigour and frugality, and the necessary wars in which she was engaged, had reason to complain of the Commons in this particular; nor could the authority of that princess, which was otherwise almost absolute, ever extort from them the requisite supplies. Habits, more than reason, we find in every thing to be the governing principle of mankind. In this view, likewise, the sinking of the value of subsidies must be considered as a loss to the king. The Parliament, swayed by custom, would not augment their number in the same proportion.

The puritanical party, though disguised, had a great authority over the kingdom; and many of the leaders among the Commons had secretly embraced the rigid tenets of that sect: all these were disgusted with the court, both by the prevalence of the principles of civil liberty essential to their party, and on account of the restraint under which they were held by the established hierarchy. In order to fortify himself against the resentment of James, Buckingham had affected popularity, and entered into the cabals of the puritans; but being secure of the confidence of Charles, he had since abandoned this party, and on that account was the more exposed to their hatred and resentment. Though the religious schemes of many of the puritans, when explained, appeared pretty frivolous, we are not thence to imagine that they were pursued by none but persons of weak understandings. Some men of the greatest parts and most extensive knowledge that the nation at this time produced, could not enjoy any peace of mind, because obliged to hear prayers offered up to the Divinity by a priest covered with a white linen vestment.

The match with France, and the articles in favour of Catholics, which were suspected to be in the treaty, were likewise causes of disgust to this whole party; though it must be remarked, that the connexions with that crown were much less obnoxious to the Protestants, and less agreeable to the Catholics, than the alliance formerly projected with Spain, and were therefore received rather with pleasure than dissatisfaction.

To all these causes we must yet add another of considerable moment. The House of Commons, we may observe, was almost entirely governed by a set of men of the most uncommon capacity and the largest views; men who were now formed into a regular party, and united, as well by fixed aims and projects, as by the hardships which some of them had undergone in prosecution of them. Among these we may mention the names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym. Animated with a warm regard to liberty, these generous patriots saw with regret an unbounded power exercised by the crown, and were resolved to seize the opportunity which the king's necessities offered them, of reducing the prerogative within more reasonable compass. Though their ancestors had blindly given way to practices and precedents favourable to kingly power, and had been able, notwithstanding, to preserve some small remains of liberty, it would be impossible, they thought, when all these pretensions were methodized, and prosecuted by the increasing knowledge of the age, to maintain any shadow of popular government, in opposition to such unlimited authority in the sovereign. It was necessary to fix a choice: either to abandon entirely the privileges of the people, or to secure them by firmer and more precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. In this dilemma, men of such aspiring geniuses, and such independent fortunes, could not long deliberate; they boldly embraced the side of freedom, and resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince without extorting concessions in favour of civil liberty. The end they esteemed beneficent and noble: the means regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies was the undoubted privilege of the Commons. And as all human governments, particularly those of a mixed frame, are in continual fluctuation, it was as natural in their opinion, and allowable, for popular assemblies to take advantage of favourable incidents, in order to secure the subject, as for monarchs, in order to extend their own authority. With pleasure they beheld the king involved in a foreign war, which rendered him every day more dependent on the Parliament; while at the same time the situation of the kingdom, even without any military preparations, gave it sufficient security against all invasion from foreigners. Perhaps too it had partly proceeded from expectations of this nature, that the popular leaders had been so urgent for a rupture with Spain; nor is it credible, that religious zeal could so far have blinded all of them, as to make them discover in such a measure any appearance of necessity or any hope of success.

But, however natural all these sentiments might appear to the country party, it is not to be imagined that Charles would entertain the same idea. Strongly prejudiced in favour of the duke, whom he had heard so highly extolled in Parliament, he could not conjecture the cause of so sudden an alteration in their opinions; and when the war which they themselves had so earnestly solicited was at last commenced, the immediate desertion of their sovereign could not but seem very unaccountable. Even though no farther motive had been suspected, the refusal of supply in such circumstances would naturally to him appear cruel and deceitful: but when he perceived that this measure proceeded from an intention of encroaching on his authority, he failed not to regard these claims as highly criminal and traitorous. Those lofty ideas of monarchical power which were very commonly adopted during that age, and to which the ambiguous nature of the English constitution gave so plausible an appearance, were firmly riveted in Charles; and, however moderate his temper, the natural and unavoidable prepossessions of self-love, joined to the late uniform precedents in favour of prerogative, had made him regard his political tenets as certain and uncontroverted. Taught to consider even the ancient laws and constitution more as lines to direct his conduct, than barriers to withstand his power, a conspiracy to erect new ramparts in order to straiten his authority appeared but one degree removed from open sedition and rebellion. So atrocious in his eyes was such a design, that he seems even unwilling to impute it to the Commons; and though he was constrained to adjourn the Parliament by reason of the plague, which at that time raged in London, he immediately re-assembled them

11th July.

1st Aug. Parliament at Oxford.

CHAP. L. 1625.

at Oxford, and made a new attempt to gain from them some supplies in such an urgent necessity.

Charles now found himself obliged to depart from that delicacy which he had formerly maintained. By himself or his ministers, he entered into a particular detail both of the alliances which he had formed, and of the military operations which he had projected[c]. He told the Parliament, that by a promise of subsidies he had engaged the King of Denmark to take part in the war; that this monarch intended to enter Germany by the north, and to rouse to arms those princes who impatiently longed for an opportunity of asserting the liberty of the empire; that Mansfeldt had undertaken to penetrate with an English army into the Palatinate, and by that quarter to excite the members of the evangelical union; that the states must be supported in the unequal warfare which they maintained with Spain; that no less a sum than seven hundred thousand pounds a year had been found, by computation, requisite for all these purposes; that the maintenance of the fleet, and the defence of Ireland, demanded an annual expense of four hundred thousand pounds; that he himself had already exhausted and anticipated in the public service his whole revenue, and had scarcely left sufficient for the daily subsistence of himself and his family[d]; that on his accession to the crown he found a debt of above three hundred thousand pounds, contracted by his father in support of the Palatine; and that, while Prince of Wales, he had himself contracted debts, notwithstanding his great frugality, to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, which he had expended entirely on naval and military armaments. After mentioning all these facts, the king even condescended to use entreaties. He said, that this request was the first that he had ever made them; that he was young and in the commencement of his reign; and if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would endear to him the use of Parliaments, and would for ever preserve an entire harmony between him and his people[e].

[c] Dugdale, p. 25, 26.

[d] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 396.

[e] Rushw. vol. i. p. 177, 178, &c. Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 399. Franklyn, p. 108, 109. Journ. 10th Aug. 1625.

To these reasons the Commons remained inexorable. Notwithstanding that the king's measures, on the supposition of a foreign war, which they had constantly demanded, were altogether unexceptionable, they obstinately refused any farther aid. Some members favourable to the court having insisted on an addition of two fifteenths to the former supply, even this pittance was refused[f]; though it was known that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth in great want of pay and provisions, and that Buckingham the admiral, and the treasurer of the navy, had advanced on their own credit near a hundred thousand pounds for the sea-service[g]. Besides all their other motives, the House of Commons had made a discovery which, as they wanted but a pretence for their refusal, inflamed them against the court and against the Duke of Buckingham.

When James deserted the Spanish alliance, and courted that of France, he had promised to furnish Lewis, who was entirely destitute of naval force, with one ship of war, together with seven armed vessels hired from the merchants. These the French court had pretended they would employ against the Genoese, who, being firm and useful allies to the Spanish monarchy, were naturally regarded with an evil eye, both by the King of France and of England. When these vessels by Charles's orders arrived at Dieppe, there arose a strong suspicion that they were to serve against Rochelle. The sailors were inflamed. That race of men, who are at present both careless and ignorant in all matters of religion, were at that time only ignorant. They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington, their commander; and signing all their names in a circle, lest he should discover the ringleaders, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his brother Protestants in France. The whole squadron sailed immediately to the Downs. There they received new orders from Buckingham, lord-admiral, to return to Dieppe. As the duke knew that authority alone would not suffice, he employed much art and many subtilties to engage them to obedience; and a rumour which was spread, that peace had

---

[f] Rushw. vol. i. p. 190.

[g] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 390.

CHAP. L. 1625.

been concluded between the French king and the Hugonots, assisted him in his purpose. When they arrived at Dieppe they found that they had been deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke through and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of all the other ships, notwithstanding great offers made them by the French, immediately deserted. One gunner alone preferred duty towards his king to the cause of religion; and he was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle[h]. The care which historians have taken to record this frivolous event proves with what pleasure the news was received by the nation.

The House of Commons, when informed of these transactions, showed the same attachment with the sailors for the Protestant religion; nor was their zeal much better guided by reason and sound policy. It was not considered, that it was highly probable the king and the duke themselves had here been deceived by the artifices of France, nor had they any hostile intention against the Hugonots; that were it otherwise, yet might their measures be justified by the most obvious and most received maxims of civil policy; that if the force of Spain were really so exorbitant as the Commons imagined, the French monarch was the only prince that could oppose its progress, and preserve the balance of Europe; that his power was at present fettered by the Hugonots, who, being possessed of many privileges, and even of fortified towns, formed an empire within his empire, and kept him in perpetual jealousy and inquietude; that an insurrection had been at that time wantonly and voluntarily formed by their leaders, who, being disgusted in some court intrigue, took advantage of the never-failing pretence of religion, in order to cover their rebellion; that the Dutch, influenced by these views, had ordered a squadron of twenty ships to join the French fleet, employed against the inhabitants of Rochelle[i]; that the Spanish monarch, sensible of the same consequences, secretly supported the Protestants in France; and that all princes had ever sacrificed to reasons of state the interests of their religion in foreign countries. All these obvious considerations had no influence. Great murmurs and discontents still prevailed in Parliament. The Hugonots, though they had no ground of complaint against the French court, were thought to be as much entitled to assistance from England, as if they had taken arms in defence of their liberties and religion against the persecuting rage of the Catholics. And it plainly appears from this incident, as well as from many others, that of all European nations, the British were at that time, and till long after, the most under the influence of that religious spirit which tends rather to inflame bigotry than increase peace and mutual charity.

---

[h] Franklyn, p. 109. Rushw. vol. i. p. 175, 176, &c. 325, 326, &c.
[i] Journ. 18th April, 1626.

On this occasion the Commons renewed their eternal complaints against the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one[k]. They demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the Catholics, and remonstrated against some late pardons granted to priests[l]. They attacked Montague, one of the king's chaplains, on account of a moderate book which he had lately published, and which, to their great disgust, saved virtuous Catholics, as well as other Christians, from eternal torments[m]. Charles gave them a gracious and compliant answer to all their remonstrances. He was, however, in his heart extremely averse to these furious measures. Though a determined Protestant by principle as well as inclination, he had entertained no violent horror against popery; and a little humanity, he thought, was due by the nation to the religion of their ancestors. That degree of liberty which is now indulged to Catholics, though a party much more obnoxious than during the reign of the Stuarts, it suited neither with Charles's sentiments, nor the humour of the age, to allow them. An abatement of the more rigorous laws was all he intended; and his engagements with France, notwithstanding that their regular execution had never been promised or expected, required of him some indulgence. But so unfortunate was this prince, that no measure embraced during his whole reign was ever attended with more unhappy and more fatal consequences.

The extreme rage against popery was a sure charac-

---

[k] Franklyn, p. 3, &c.

[l] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 374. Journ. 1st Aug. 1625.

[m] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 353. Journ. 7th July, 1625.

1625.

teristic of puritanism. The House of Commons discovered other infallible symptoms of the prevalence of that party. They petitioned the king for replacing such able clergy as had been silenced for want of conformity to the ceremonies[n]. They also enacted laws for the strict observance of Sunday, which the puritans affected to call the Sabbath, and which they sanctified by the most melancholy indolence[o]. It is to be remarked, that the different appellations of this festival were at that time known symbols of the different parties.

The king, finding that the Parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, and would furnish him with nothing but empty protestations of duty[p], or disagreeable complaints of grievances, took advantage of the plague[q], which began to appear at Oxford, and on that pretence immediately dissolved them. By finishing the session with a dissolution, instead of a prorogation, he sufficiently expressed his displeasure of their conduct.

Aug. 12.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy-seals for borrowing money from his subjects[r]. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned: by means, however, of that supply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet. It consisted of eighty vessels great and small, and carried on board an army of ten thousand men. Sir Edward Cecil, lately created Viscount Wimbleton, was intrusted with the command. He sailed immediately for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spanish ships of great value. He either neglected to attack these ships, or attempted it preposterously. The army was landed and a fort taken; but the undisciplined soldiers, finding store of wine, could not be restrained from the utmost excesses. Farther stay appearing fruitless, they were reimbarked; and the fleet put to sea with an intention of intercepting

October 1.

Naval expedition against Spain.

---

[n] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 281.

[o] 1 Car. I. cap. 1. Journ. 21st June, 1625.

[p] Franklyn, p. 113. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 190.

[q] The plague was really so violent, that it had been moved in the House, at the beginning of the session, to petition the king to adjourn them. Journ. 21st June, 1625. So it was impossible to enter upon grievances, even if there had been any. The only business of the Parliament was to give supply, which was so much wanted by the king, in order to carry on the war in which they had engaged him.

[r] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 192. Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 407.

the Spanish galleons. But the plague having seized the seamen and soldiers, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of this prize, and return to England. Loud complaints were made against the court for intrusting so important a command to a man like Cecil, whom, though he possessed great experience, the people, judging by the event, esteemed of slender capacity[s]. 1625. November.

1626. Second Parliament.

Charles, having failed of so rich a prize, was obliged again to have recourse to a Parliament. Though the ill success of his enterprises diminished his authority, and showed every day more plainly the imprudence of the Spanish war; though the increase of his necessities rendered him more dependent, and more exposed to the encroachments of the Commons; he was resolved to try once more that regular and constitutional expedient for supply. Perhaps, too, a little political art, which at that time he practised, was much trusted to. He had named four popular leaders, sheriffs of counties; Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir Francis Seymour; and though the question had been formerly much contested[t], he thought that he had by that means incapacitated them from being elected members. But his intention being so evident, rather put the Commons more upon their guard. Enow of patriots still remained to keep up the ill humour of the House, and men needed but little instruction or rhetoric to recommend to them practices which increased their own importance and consideration. The weakness of the court, also, could not more evidently appear, than by its being reduced to use so ineffectual an expedient, in order to obtain an influence over the Commons.

Feb. 6.

The views, therefore, of the last Parliament were immediately adopted; as if the same men had been every where elected, and no time had intervened since their meeting. When the king laid before the House his necessities, and asked for supply, they immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths; and though they afterwards added one subsidy more, the sum was little proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, and

---

[s] Franklyn, p. 113. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 196.

[t] It is always an express clause in the writ of summons that no sheriff shall be chosen; but the contrary practice had often prevailed. D'Ewes, p. 38. Yet still great doubts were entertained on this head. See Journ. 9th April, 1614.

1626.

ill fitted to promote those views of success and glory for which the young prince, in his first enterprise, so ardently longed. But this circumstance was not the most disagreeable one. The supply was only voted by the Commons. The passing of that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session[u]. A condition was thereby made, in a very undisguised manner, with their sovereign. Under colour of redressing grievances, which during this short reign could not be very numerous, they were to proceed in regulating and controlling every part of government which displeased them; and if the king either cut them short in this undertaking, or refused compliance with their demands, he must not expect any supply from the Commons. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by Charles at a treatment which he deemed so harsh and undutiful[w]; but his urgent necessities obliged him to submit, and he waited with patience, observing to what side they would turn themselves.

Impeachment of Buckingham.

The Duke of Buckingham, formerly obnoxious to the public, became every day more unpopular, by the symptoms which appeared both of his want of temper and prudence, and of the uncontrolled ascendant which he had acquired over his master[x]. Two violent attacks he was obliged this session to sustain; one from the Earl of Bristol, another from the House of Commons.

As long as James lived, Bristol, secure of the concealed favour of that monarch, had expressed all duty and obedience, in expectation that an opportunity would offer of reinstating himself in his former credit and authority. Even after Charles's accession, he despaired not. He submitted to the king's commands of remaining at his country-seat, and of absenting himself from Parliament. Many trials he made to regain the good opinion of his master; but finding them all fruitless, and observing Charles to be entirely governed by Buckingham, his implacable enemy, he resolved no longer to keep any measures with the court. A new spirit, he saw, and a new power, arising in the nation, and to these he was determined for the future to trust for his security and protection.

---

[u] Journ. 27th March, 1626.

[w] Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 449. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 224.

[x] His credit with the king had given him such influence, that he had no less than twenty proxies granted him this Parliament by so many peers: which occasioned a vote, that no peer should have above two proxies. The Earl of Leicester, in 1585, had once ten proxies. D'Ewes, p. 314.

When the Parliament was summoned, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, had given orders that no writ, as is customary, should be sent to Bristol[y]. That nobleman applied to the House of Lords by petition, and craved their good offices with the king for obtaining what was his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was sent him, but accompanied with a letter from the lord-keeper, Coventry, commanding him, in the king's name, to absent himself from Parliament. This letter Bristol conveyed to the Lords, and asked advice how to proceed in so delicate a situation[z]. The king's prohibition was withdrawn, and Bristol took his seat. Provoked at these repeated instances of vigour, which the court denominated contumacy, Charles ordered his attorney-general to enter an accusation of high treason against him. By way of recrimination, Bristol accused Buckingham of high treason. Both the earl's defence of himself and accusation of the duke remain[a]; and, together with some original letters still extant, contain the fullest and most authentic account of all the negotiations with the house of Austria. From the whole, the great imprudence of the duke evidently appears, and the sway of his ungovernable passions; but it would be difficult to collect thence any action which in the eye of the law could be deemed a crime, much less could subject him to the penalty of treason.

The impeachment of the Commons was still less dangerous to the duke, were it estimated by the standard of law and equity. The House, after having voted upon some queries of Dr. Turner's, *that common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation by the Commons*[b], proceeded to frame regular articles against Buckingham. They accused him of having united many offices in his person; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the seas, insomuch that many merchant-ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the French king, in order to serve against the Hugonots; of

---

[y] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 236. [z] Ibid. vol. i. p. 237. Franklyn, p. 120, &c.
[a] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 256. 262, 263, &c. Franklyn, p. 123, &c.
[b] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 217. Whitlocke, p. 5.

CHAP. L. 1626.

being employed in the sale of honours and offices; of accepting extensive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; and of administering physic to the late king without acquainting his physicians. All these articles appear, from comparing the accusation and reply, to be either frivolous or false, or both[c]. The only charge which could be regarded as important was, that he had extorted a sum of ten thousand pounds from the East India Company, and that he had confiscated some goods belonging to French merchants, on pretence of their being the property of Spanish. The impeachment never came to a full determination, so that it is difficult for us to give a decisive opinion with regard to these articles. But it must be confessed, that the duke's answer in these particulars, as in all the rest, is so clear and satisfactory, that it is impossible to refuse our assent to it[d]. His faults and blemishes were in many respects very great; but rapacity and avarice were vices with which he was entirely unacquainted.

It is remarkable that the Commons, though so much at a loss to find articles of charge against Buckingham, never adopted Bristol's accusation, or impeached the duke for his conduct in the Spanish treaty, the most blameable circumstance in his whole life. He had reason to believe the Spaniards sincere in their professions; yet, in order to gratify his private passions, he had hurried his master and his country into a war pernicious to the interests of both. But so riveted throughout the nation were the prejudices with regard to Spanish deceit and falsehood, that very few of the Commons seem as yet to have been convinced that they had been seduced by Buckingham's narrative: a certain proof that a discovery of this nature was not, as is imagined by several historians, the cause of so sudden and surprising a variation in the measures of the Parliament[e].

While the Commons were thus warmly engaged against Buckingham, the king seemed desirous of embracing every opportunity by which he could express a contempt and disregard for them. No one was at that time sufficiently sensible of the great weight which the

---

[c] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 306, &c. 375, &c. Journ. 25th March, 1626.

[d] Whitlocke, p. 7.

[e] See note [U U], at the end of the volume.

Commons bore in the balance of the constitution. The history of England had never hitherto afforded one instance where any great movement or revolution had proceeded from the Lower House. And as their rank, both considered in a body and as individuals, was but the second in the kingdom, nothing less than fatal experience could engage the English princes to pay a due regard to the inclinations of that formidable assembly.

The Earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, dying about this time, Buckingham, though lying under impeachment, was yet, by means of court interest, chosen in his place. The Commons resented and loudly complained of this affront; and the more to enrage them, the king himself wrote a letter to the university, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election [f].

The lord-keeper, in the king's name, expressly commanded the House not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finish, in a few days, the bill which they had begun for the subsidies, and to make some addition to them, otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer [g]: and though these harsh commands were endeavoured to be explained and mollified, a few days after, by a speech of Buckingham's [h], they failed not to leave a disagreeable impression behind them.

Besides a more stately style which Charles in general affected to this Parliament than to the last, he went so far, in a message, as to threaten the Commons, that if they did not furnish him with supplies, he should be obliged to try *new counsels.* This language was sufficiently clear; yet, lest any ambiguity should remain, Sir Dudley Carleton, vice-chamberlain, took care to explain it. "I pray you consider," said he, "what these new counsels are, or may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all Christian kingdoms, you know that Parliaments were in use anciently, by which those kingdoms were governed in a most flourishing manner; until the monarchs began to know their own strength, and seeing the turbulent spirit of their Parliaments, at length they,

---

[f] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 371.

[g] Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 444.

[h] Id. ibid. p. 451. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 225. Franklyn, p. 118.

CHAP. L. 1626.

by little and little, began to stand on their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the Parliaments, throughout Christendom, except here only with us. Let us be careful then to preserve the king's good opinion of Parliaments, which bringeth such happiness to this nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this sweetness between his majesty and the Commons, lest we lose the repute of a free people by our turbulency in Parliament[i]." These imprudent suggestions rather gave warning than struck terror. A precarious liberty, the Commons thought, which was to be preserved by unlimited complaisance, was no liberty at all; and it was necessary, while yet in their power, to secure the constitution by such invincible barriers, that no king or minister should ever, for the future, dare to speak such a language to any Parliament, or even entertain such a project against them.

Two members of the House, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliott, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against the duke, were thrown into prison[k]. The Commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon business till they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alleged as the reason of this measure, certain seditious expressions, which, he said, had, in their accusation of the duke, dropped from these members. Upon inquiry, it appeared that no such expressions had been used[l]. The members were released, and the king reaped no other benefit from this attempt than to exasperate the House still farther, and to show some degree of precipitancy and indiscretion.

Moved by this example, the House of Peers were roused from their inactivity; and claimed liberty for the Earl of Arundel, who had been lately confined in the Tower. After many fruitless evasions, the king, though somewhat ungracefully, was at last obliged to comply[m]; and in this incident it sufficiently appeared that the Lords, how little soever inclined to popular courses, were not wanting in a just sense of their own dignity.

The ill humour of the Commons, thus wantonly irritated by the court, and finding no gratification in the legal impeachment of Buckingham, sought other objects on which it might exert itself. The never-failing cry of popery here served them instead. They again claimed the execution of the penal laws against Catholics; and they presented to the king a list of persons intrusted with offices, most of them insignificant, who were either convicted or suspected recusants[n]. In this particular, they had, perhaps, some reason to blame the king's conduct. He had promised to the last House of Commons a redress of this religious grievance; but he was apt, in imitation of his father, to imagine that the Parliament, when they failed of supplying his necessities, had, on their part, freed him from the obligation of a strict performance. A new odium, likewise, by these representations, was attempted to be thrown upon Buckingham. His mother, who had great influence over him, was a professed Catholic; his wife was not free from suspicion; and the indulgence given to Catholics was of course supposed to proceed entirely from his credit and authority. So violent was the bigotry of the times, that it was thought a sufficient reason for disqualifying any one from holding an office, that his wife, or relations, or companions were papists, though he himself was a conformist[o].

---

[i] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 359. Whitlocke, p. 6.

[k] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 356.

[l] Id. ibid. p. 358. 361. Franklyn, p. 180.

[m] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 363, 364, &c. Franklyn, p. 181.

It is remarkable, that persecution was here chiefly pushed on by laymen; and that the church was willing to have granted more liberty than would be allowed by the Commons. The reconciling doctrines likewise of Montague failed not anew to meet with severe censures from that zealous assembly[p].

The next attack made by the Commons, had it prevailed, would have proved decisive. They were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament. This article, together with the new impositions laid on merchandise by James, constituted near half of the crown revenues; and by depriving the king of these resources, they would have reduced him to total subjection and dependence. While they retained such a pledge, besides the supply already promised, they were sure that nothing could be refused them. Though after canvassing

---

[n] Franklyn, p. 195. Rushworth.

[o] See the list in Franklyn and Rushworth.

[p] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 209.

CHAP. L. 1626.

the matter near three months, they found themselves utterly incapable of fixing any legal crime upon the duke, they regarded him as an unable and perhaps a dangerous minister; and they intended to present a petition, which would then have been equivalent to a command, for removing him from his majesty's person and councils[q].

The king was alarmed at the yoke which he saw prepared for him. Buckingham's sole guilt, he thought, was the being his friend and favourite[r]. All the other complaints against him were mere pretences. A little before, he was the idol of the people. No new crime had since been discovered. After the most diligent inquiry, prompted by the greatest malice, the smallest appearance of guilt could not be fixed upon him. What idea, he asked, must all mankind entertain of his honour, should he sacrifice his innocent friend to pecuniary considerations? What farther authority should he retain in the nation, were he capable, in the beginning of his reign, to give, in so signal an instance, such matter of triumph to his enemies, and discouragement to his adherents? To-day the Commons pretend to wrest his minister from him; to-morrow they will attack some branch of his prerogative. By their remonstrances, and promises, and protestations, they had engaged the crown in a war: as soon as they saw a retreat impossible, without waiting for new incidents, without covering themselves with new pretences, they immediately deserted him, and refused him all reasonable supply. It was evident, that they desired nothing so much as to see him plunged in inextricable difficulties, of which they intended to take advantage. To such deep perfidy, to such unbounded usurpations, it was necessary to oppose a proper firmness and resolution. All encroachments on supreme power could only be resisted successfully on the first attempt. The sovereign authority was, with some difficulty, reduced from its ancient and legal height; but when once pushed downwards, it soon became contemptible, and would easily, by the continuance of the same effort, now encouraged by success, be carried to the lowest extremity.

Prompted by these plausible motives, Charles was determined immediately to dissolve the Parliament. When this resolution was known, the House of Peers, whose compliant behaviour entitled them to some authority with him, endeavoured to interpose[s]; and they petitioned him that he would allow the Parliament to sit some time longer. *Not a moment longer*, cried the king hastily[t]; and he soon after ended the session by a dissolution.

---

[q] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 400. Franklyn, p. 199.

[r] Franklyn, p. 178.

As this measure was foreseen, the Commons took care to finish and disperse their remonstrance, which they intended as a justification of their conduct to the people. The king likewise, on his part, published a declaration, in which he gave the reasons of his disagreement with the Parliament, and of their sudden dissolution, before they had time to conclude any one act[u]. These papers furnished the partisans on both sides with ample matter of apology or of recrimination. But all impartial men judged "*That* the Commons, though they had not as yet violated any law, yet, by their unpliableness and independence, were insensibly changing, perhaps improving, the spirit and genius, while they preserved the form, of the constitution: and *that* the king was acting altogether without any plan; running on in a road surrounded on all sides with the most dangerous precipices, and concerting no proper measures, either for submitting to the obstinacy of the Commons, or for subduing it."

15th June.

After a breach with the Parliament, which seemed so difficult to repair, the only rational counsel which Charles could pursue was, immediately to conclude a peace with Spain, and to render himself, as far as possible, independent of his people, who discovered so little inclination to support him, or rather who seem to have formed a determined resolution to abridge his authority. Nothing could be more easy in the execution than this measure, nor more agreeable to his own and to national interest. But, besides the treaties and engagements which he had entered into with Holland and Denmark, the king's thoughts were at this time averse to pacific counsels. There are two circumstances in Charles's character seemingly incompatible, which attended him during the whole course of his reign, and were in part the cause of his misfortunes: he was very steady and even obstinate in his purpose; and he was easily governed, by reason of his facility, and of his deference to men much inferior to himself both in morals and understanding. His great ends he inflexibly maintained: but the means of attaining them he readily received from his ministers and favourites, though not always fortunate in his choice. The violent, impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a desire of revenge for injuries which he himself had committed, and animated with a love of glory which he had not talents to merit, had at this time, notwithstanding his profuse licentious life, acquired an invincible ascendant over the virtuous and gentle temper of the king.

---

[s] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 398.

[t] Sanderson's Life of Charles I. p. 58.

[u] Franklyn, p. 203, &c. Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 300.

Violent measures of the court.

The *new counsels*, which Charles had mentioned to the Parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Had he possessed any military force, on which he could rely, it is not improbable, that he had at once taken off the mask, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges: so high an idea had he received of kingly prerogative, and so contemptible a notion of the rights of those popular assemblies, from which he very naturally thought he had met with such ill usage. But his army was new levied, ill paid, and worse disciplined; nowise superior to the militia, who were much more numerous, and who were in a great measure under the influence of the country gentlemen. It behoved him, therefore, to proceed cautiously, and to cover his enterprises under the pretence of ancient precedents, which, considering the great authority commonly enjoyed by his predecessors, could not be wanting to himself.

A commission was openly granted to compound with the Catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them [w]. By this expedient, the king both filled his coffers, and gratified his inclination of giving indulgence to these religionists: but he could not have employed any branch of prerogative which would have been more disagreeable, or would have appeared more exceptionable to his Protestant subjects.

From the nobility he desired assistance: from the city he required a loan of one hundred thousand pounds.

[w] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 413. Whitlocke, p. 7.

The former contributed slowly; but the latter, covering themselves under many pretences and excuses, gave him at last a flat refusal [x].

In order to equip a fleet, a distribution, by order of council, was made to all the maritime towns; and each of them was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them [y]. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of ship-money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried some steps farther by Charles, created such violent discontents.

Of some, loans were required [z]; to others, the way of benevolence was proposed: methods supported by precedent, but always invidious, even in times more submissive and compliant. In the most absolute governments, such expedients would be regarded as irregular and unequal.

25th Aug.

These counsels for supply were conducted with some moderation, till news arrived that a great battle was fought between the King of Denmark and Count Tilly, the imperial general, in which the former was totally defeated. Money now, more than ever, became necessary, in order to repair so great a breach in the alliance, and to support a prince who was so nearly allied to Charles, and who had been engaged in the war, chiefly by the intrigues, solicitations, and promises of the English monarch. After some deliberation, an act of council was passed, importing, that as the urgency of affairs admitted not the way of Parliament, the most speedy, equal, and convenient method of supply was by a GENERAL LOAN from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. That precise sum was required which each would have paid, had the vote of four subsidies passed into a law; but care was taken to inform the people, that the sums exacted were not to be called subsidies, but loans [a]. Had any doubt remained, whether forced loans, however authorized by precedent, and even by statute, were a violation of liberty, and must, by necessary consequence, render all Parliaments superfluous, this was the

---

[x] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 415. Franklyn, p. 206.

[y] Rushworth, ut supra.

[z] Ibid. vol. i. p. 416.

[a] Ibid. p. 418. Whitlocke, p. 8.

CHAP. L. 1626.

proper expedient for opening the eyes of the whole nation. The example of Henry VIII., who had once, in his arbitrary reign, practised a like method of levying a regular supply, was generally deemed a very insufficient authority.

The commissioners appointed to levy these loans, among other articles of secret instruction, were enjoined, "If any shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays or excuses, and persist in his obstinacy, that they examine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuse to lend, or make an excuse for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what speeches or persuasions were used to that purpose? And that they also shall charge every such person, in his majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to disclose to any one what his answer was[b]." So violent an inquisitorial power, so impracticable an attempt at secrecy, were the objects of indignation, and even, in some degree, of ridicule.

That religious prejudices might support civil authority, sermons were preached by Sibthorpe and Manwaring, in favour of the general loan; and the court industriously spread them over the kingdom. Passive obedience was there recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the state was represented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of law and a constitution were rejected as seditious and impious[c]. So openly was this doctrine espoused by the court, that Archbishop Abbot, a popular and virtuous prelate, was, because he refused to license Sibthorpe's sermon, suspended from the exercise of his office, banished from London, and confined to one of his country-seats[d]. Abbot's principles of liberty, and his opposition to Buckingham, had always rendered him very ungracious at court, and had acquired him the character of a puritan. For it is remarkable, that this party made the privileges of the nation as much a part of their religion, as the church party did the prerogatives of the crown; and nothing tended farther to recommend among the people, who always take opinions in the lump, the whole system and all the principles of the former sect.

---

[b] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 419. Franklyn, p. 207.
[c] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 422. Franklyn, p. 208.
[d] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 431.

The king soon found, by fatal experience, that this engine of religion, which with so little necessity was introduced into politics, falling under more fortunate management, was played with the most terrible success against him.

While the king, instigated by anger and necessity, thus employed the whole extent of his prerogative, the spirit of the people was far from being subdued. Throughout England, many refused these loans; some were even active in encouraging their neighbours to insist upon their common rights and privileges. By warrant of the council, *these* were thrown into prison[e]. Most of them with patience submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king, who commonly released them. Five gentlemen alone, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmond Hambden, had spirit enough, at their own hazard and expense, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releasement, not as a favour from the court, but as their due, by the laws of their country[f]. No particular cause was assigned of their commitment. The special command alone of the king and council was pleaded; and it was asserted, that, by law, this was not sufficient reason for refusing bail or releasement to the prisoners.

November.

This question was brought to a solemn trial before the King's Bench: and the whole kingdom was attentive to the issue of a cause, which was of much greater consequence than the event of many battles.

By the debates on this subject it appeared, beyond controversy, to the nation, that their ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty, as to secure it against arbitrary power in the crown, by six several statutes[g], and by an article[h] of the GREAT CHARTER itself, the most sacred foundation of the laws and constitution. But the Kings of England who had not been able to prevent the enacting of these laws, had sufficient authority, when the tide of liberty was spent, to obstruct their regular execution; and they deemed it superfluous to attempt the formal repeal of statutes which they found so many ex-

---

[e] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 429. Franklyn, p. 210.

[f] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 458. Franklyn, p. 224. Whitlocke, p. 8.

[g] 25 Edw. III. cap. 4. 28 Edw. III. cap. 3. 37 Edw. III. cap. 18. 38 Edw. III. cap. 9. 42 Edw. III. cap. 3. 1 Richard II. cap. 12.

[h] Chap. 29.

1626. pedients and pretences to elude. Turbulent and seditious times frequently occurred, when the safety of the people absolutely required the confinement of factious leaders; and by the genius of the whole constitution, the prince, of himself, was accustomed to assume every branch of prerogative, which was found necessary for the preservation of public peace and of his own authority. Expediency at other times would cover itself under the appearance of necessity; and, in proportion as precedents multiplied, the will alone of the sovereign was sufficient to supply the place of expediency, of which he constituted himself the sole judge. In an age and nation where the power of a turbulent nobility prevailed, and where the king had no settled military force, the only means that could maintain public peace was the exertion of such prompt and discretionary powers in the crown; and the public itself had become so sensible of the necessity, that those ancient laws in favour of personal liberty, while often violated, had never been challenged or revived during the course of near three centuries. Though rebellious subjects had frequently, in the open field, resisted the king's authority, no person had been found so bold, when confined and at mercy, as to set himself in opposition to regal power, and to claim the protection of the constitution against the will of the sovereign. It was not till this age, when the spirit of liberty was universally diffused, when the principles of government were nearly reduced to a system, when the tempers of men, more civilized, seemed less to require those violent exertions of prerogative, that these five gentlemen above mentioned, by a noble effort, ventured, in this national cause, to bring the question to a final determination. And the king was astonished to observe, that a power exercised by his predecessors, almost without interruption, was found, upon trial, to be directly opposite to the clearest laws, and supported by few undoubted precedents in courts of judicature. These had scarcely, in any instance, refused bail upon commitments by special command of the king; because the persons committed had seldom or never dared to demand it, at least to insist on their demand.

1627. Sir Randolf Crew, chief justice, had been displaced as unfit for the purposes of the court; Sir Nicholas Hyde, esteemed more obsequious, had obtained that high office: yet the judges, by his direction, went no farther than to remand the gentlemen to prison, and refuse the bail which was offered[i]. Heathe, the attorney-general, insisted that the court, in imitation of the judges in the thirty-fourth of Elizabeth[k], should enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted upon a commitment by the king or council[l]. But the judges wisely declined complying. The nation, they saw, was already to the last degree exasperated. In the present disposition of men's minds, universal complaints prevailed, as if the kingdom were reduced to slavery. And the most invidious prerogative of the crown, it was said, that of imprisoning the subject, is here openly and solemnly, and in numerous instances, exercised for the most invidious purpose; in order to extort loans, or rather subsidies, without consent of Parliament.

But this was not the only hardship of which the nation then thought they had reason to complain. The army, which had made the fruitless expedition to Cadiz, was dispersed throughout the kingdom, and money was levied upon the counties for the payment of their quarters[m].

The soldiers were billeted upon private houses, contrary to custom, which required that, in all ordinary cases, they should be quartered in inns and public-houses[n].

Those who had refused or delayed the loan were sure to be loaded with a great number of these dangerous and disorderly guests.

Many too, of low condition, who had shown a refractory disposition, were pressed into the service, and enlisted in the fleet or army[o]. Sir Peter Hayman, for the same reason, was despatched on an errand to the Palatinate[p]. Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been obliged, during the former interval of Parliament, to accept of an office in the navy[q].

The soldiers, ill paid and undisciplined, committed many crimes and outrages, and much increased the public discontents. To prevent these disorders, martial law, so requisite to the support of discipline, was exercised upon the soldiers. By a contradiction, which is natural when the people are exasperated, the outrages of the army were complained of; the remedy was thought still more intolerable[r]. Though the expediency, if we are not rather to say the necessity, of martial law, had formerly been deemed, of itself, a sufficient ground for establishing it, men, now become more jealous of liberty, and more refined reasoners in questions of government, regarded as illegal and arbitrary every exercise of authority which was not supported by express statute or uninterrupted precedent.

---

[i] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 462.

[k] State Trials, vol. vii. p. 147.

[l] Ibid. p. 161.

[m] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 419.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Ibid. p. 422.

[p] Ibid. p. 431.

[q] Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 310.

It may safely be affirmed, that, except a few courtiers or ecclesiastics, all men were displeased with this high exertion of prerogative, and this new spirit of administration. Though ancient precedents were pleaded in favour of the king's measures, a considerable difference, upon comparison, was observed between the cases. Acts of power, however irregular, might casually, and at intervals, be exercised by a prince, for the sake of despatch or expediency, and yet liberty still subsist in some tolerable degree under his administration. But where all these were reduced into a system, were exerted without interruption, were studiously sought for, in order to supply the place of laws, and subdue the refractory spirit of the nation, it was necessary to find some speedy remedy, or finally to abandon all hopes of preserving the freedom of the constitution. Nor did moderate men esteem the provocation which the king had received, though great, sufficient to warrant all these violent measures. The Commons, as yet, had nowise invaded his authority; they had only exercised, as best pleased them, their own privileges. Was he justifiable, because from one house of Parliament he had met with harsh and unkind treatment, to make in revenge an invasion on the rights and liberties of the whole nation?

But great was at this time the surprise of all men, when Charles, baffled in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, embroiled with his own subjects, unsupplied with any treasure but what he extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures; as if the

---

[r] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 419. Whitlocke, p. 7.

1627. War with France.

half of Europe, now his enemy, were not sufficient for the exercise of military prowess; wantonly attacked France, the other great kingdom in his neighbourhood, and engaged at once in war against these two powers, whose interests were hitherto deemed so incompatible, that they could never, it was thought, agree either in the same friendships or enmities. All authentic memoirs, both foreign and domestic, ascribe to Buckingham's counsels this war with France, and represent him as actuated by motives which would appear incredible, were we not acquainted with the violence and temerity of his character.

The three great monarchies of Europe were at this time ruled by young princes, Philip, Lewis, and Charles, who were nearly of the same age, and who had resigned the government of themselves, and of their kingdoms, to their creatures and ministers, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham. The people, whom the moderate temper or narrow genius of their princes would have allowed to remain for ever in tranquillity, were strongly agitated by the emulation and jealousy of the ministers. Above all, the towering spirit of Richelieu, incapable of rest, promised an active age, and gave indications of great revolutions throughout all Europe.

This man had no sooner, by suppleness and intrigue, gotten possession of the reins of government, than he formed at once three mighty projects; to subdue the turbulent spirits of the great, to reduce the rebellious Hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of Austria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active, he braved all the opposition of the French princes and nobles in the prosecution of his vengeance; he discovered and dissipated all their secret cabals and conspiracies. His sovereign himself he held in subjection, while he exalted the throne. The people, while they lost their liberties, acquired, by means of his administration, learning, order, discipline, and renown. That confused and inaccurate genius of government, of which France partook in common with other European kingdoms, he changed into a simple monarchy, at the very time when the incapacity of Buckingham encouraged the free spirit of the Commons to establish in England a regular system of liberty.

However unequal the comparison between these ministers, Buckingham had entertained a mighty jealousy against Richelieu; a jealousy not founded on rivalship of power and politics, but of love and gallantry; where the duke was as much superior to the cardinal, as he was inferior in every other particular.

At the time when Charles married by proxy the Princess Henrietta, the Duke of Buckingham had been sent to France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new queen into England. The eyes of the French court were directed by curiosity towards that man, who had enjoyed the unlimited favour of two successive monarchs, and who, from a private station, had mounted, in the earliest youth, to the absolute government of three kingdoms. The beauty of his person, the gracefulness of his air, the splendour of his equipage, his fine taste in dress, festivals, and carousals, corresponded to the prepossessions entertained in his favour: the affability of his behaviour, the gaiety of his manners, the magnificence of his expense, increased still farther the general admiration which was paid him. All business being already concerted, the time was entirely spent in mirth and entertainments; and, during those splendid scenes among that gay people, the duke found himself in a situation where he was perfectly qualified to excel[s]. But his great success at Paris proved as fatal as his former failure at Madrid. Encouraged by the smiles of the court, he dared to carry his ambitious addresses to the queen herself; and he failed not to make impression on a heart not undisposed to the tender passions. That attachment, at least of the mind, which appears so delicious, and is so dangerous, seems to have been encouraged by the princess; and the duke presumed so far on her good graces, that, after his departure, he secretly returned upon some pretence, and paying a visit to the queen, was dismissed with a reproof which savoured more of kindness than of anger[t].

Information of this correspondence was soon carried to Richelieu. The vigilance of that minister was here farther roused by jealousy. He too, either from vanity or politics, had ventured to pay his addresses to the queen.

---

[s] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 38.

[t] Mémoires de Mad. de Motteville.

But a priest, past middle age, of a severe character, and occupied in the most extensive plans of ambition or vengeance, was but an unequal match, in that contest, for a young courtier, entirely disposed to gaiety and gallantry. The cardinal's disappointment strongly inclined him to counterwork the amorous projects of his rival. When the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris, a message was sent him from Lewis, that he must not think of such a journey. In a romantic passion he swore, *That he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France;* and, from that moment, he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom[u].

He first took advantage of some quarrels excited by the Queen of England's attendants; and he persuaded Charles to dismiss at once all her French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty[w]. He encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels belonging to French merchants; and *these* he forthwith condemned as prizes, by a sentence of the court of admiralty. But finding that all these injuries produced only remonstrances and embassies, or at most reprisals, on the part of France, he resolved to second the intrigues of the Duke of Soubize, and to undertake at once a military expedition against that kingdom.

Soubize, who, with his brother the Duke of Rohan, was the leader of the Hugonot faction, was at that time in London, and strongly solicited Charles to embrace the protection of these distressed religionists. He represented, that after the inhabitants of Rochelle had been repressed by the combined squadrons of England and Holland, after peace was concluded with the French king, under Charles's mediation, the ambitious cardinal was still meditating the destruction of the Hugonots; that preparations were silently making in every province of France for the suppression of their religion; that forts were erected in order to bridle Rochelle, the most considerable bulwark of the Protestants; that the reformed in France cast their eyes on Charles as the head of their faith, and considered him as a prince engaged by interest, as well as inclination, to support them; that, so long as their party subsisted, Charles might rely on their attachment as much as on that of his own subjects; but if their liberties were once ravished from them, the power of France, freed from this impediment, would soon become formidable to England, and to all the neighbouring nations.

---

[u] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 38.

[w] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 423, 424.

Though Charles probably bore but small favour to the Hugonots, who so much resembled the Puritans in discipline and worship, in religion and politics, he yet allowed himself to be gained by these arguments, enforced by the solicitations of Buckingham. A fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men, were fitted out for the invasion of France, and both of them entrusted to the command of the duke, who was altogether unacquainted both with land and sea service. The fleet appeared before Rochelle; but so ill concerted were Buckingham's measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed[x]. All his military operations showed equal incapacity and inexperience. 9th July. Expedition to the isle of Rhé. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, which was well garrisoned and fortified: having landed his men, though with some loss, he followed not the blow, but allowed Toiras, the French governor, five days' respite, during which St. Martin was victualled and provided for a siege[y]. He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which could at first have made no manner of resistance: though resolved to starve St. Martin, he guarded the sea negligently, and allowed provisions and ammunition to be thrown into it: despairing to reduce it by famine, he attacked it without having made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of the soldiers. Having found that a French army had stolen over in small divisions, and had landed at Prie, the fort which he had first overlooked, Oct. 28. he began to think of a retreat; but made it so unskilfully, that it was equivalent to a total rout: he was the last of the army that embarked; and he returned to England, having lost two-thirds of his land-forces; totally discredited both as an admiral and a general; and bringing no praise with him, but the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery.

---

[x] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 426.

[y] Whitlocke, p. 8. Sir Philip Warwick, p. 25.

CHAP. L. 1627.

The Duke of Rohan, who had taken arms as soon as Buckingham appeared upon the coast, discovered the dangerous spirit of the sect, without being able to do any mischief: the inhabitants of Rochelle, who had at last been induced to join the English, hastened the vengeance of their master, exhausted their provisions in supplying their allies, and were threatened with an immediate siege. Such were the fruits of Buckingham's expedition against France.

CHAPTER LI.

THIRD PARLIAMENT.—PETITION OF RIGHT.—PROROGATION.—DEATH OF BUCKINGHAM.—NEW SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.—TONNAGE AND POUNDAGE.—ARMINIANISM.—DISSOLUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

CHAP. LI. 1628.

THERE was reason to apprehend some disorder or insurrection, from the discontents which prevailed among the people in England. Their liberties, they believed, were ravished from them; illegal taxes extorted; their commerce, which had met with a severe check from the Spanish, was totally annihilated by the French war; those military honours transmitted to them from their ancestors had received a grievous stain, by two unsuccessful and ill-conducted expeditions; scarce an illustrious family but mourned from the last of them, the loss of a son or brother: greater calamities were dreaded from the war with these powerful monarchies, concurring with the internal disorders under which the nation laboured; and these ills were ascribed, not to the refractory disposition of the two former Parliaments, to which they were partly owing, but solely to Charles's obstinacy, in adhering to the counsels of Buckingham; a man nowise entitled by his birth, age, services, or merit, to that unlimited confidence reposed in him. To be sacrificed to the interest, policy, and ambition of the great, is so much the common lot of the people, that they may appear unreasonable who would pretend to complain of it; but to be the victim of the frivolous gallantry of a favourite, and of his boyish caprices, seemed the object of peculiar indignation.

In this situation, it may be imagined, the king and the duke dreaded above all things the assembling of a Parliament; but so little foresight had they possessed in their enterprising schemes, that they found themselves under an absolute necessity of embracing that expedient. The money levied, or rather extorted, under colour of prerogative, had come in very slowly, and had left such ill-humour in the nation, that it appeared dangerous to renew the experiment. The absolute necessity of supply, it was hoped, would engage the Commons to forget all past injuries; and having experienced the ill effects of former obstinacy, they would probably assemble with the resolution of making some reasonable compliances. The more to soften them, it was concerted, by Sir Robert Cotton's advice [a], that Buckingham should be the first person that proposed in council the calling of a new Parliament. Having laid in this stock of merit, he expected that all his former misdemeanors would be overlooked and forgiven; and that, instead of a tyrant and oppressor, he should be regarded as the first patriot in the nation.

Third Parliament.

March 17.

The views of the popular leaders were much more judicious and profound. When the Commons assembled, they appeared to be men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of such riches, that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the House of Peers [b]; they were deputed by boroughs and counties, inflamed all of them by the late violations of liberty; many of the members themselves had been cast into prison, and had suffered by the measures of the court; yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, which might prompt them to embrace violent resolutions, they entered upon business with perfect temper and decorum. They considered, that the king, disgusted at these popular assemblies, and little prepossessed in favour of their privileges, wanted but a fair pretence for breaking with them, and would seize the first opportunity offered by any incident, or any undutiful behaviour of the members. He fairly told them, in his first speech, that, "If they should not do their duties, in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands, in order to save that which the follies of some particular men may otherwise put in danger. Take not this for a threatening," added the king, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him, who, by nature and duty, has

---

[a] Franklyn, p. 230.

[b] Sanderson, p. 106. Walker, p. 339.

CHAP. LI. 1628.

most care of your preservation and prosperity[c]." The lord-keeper, by the king's direction, subjoined, "This way of parliamentary supplies, as his majesty told you, he hath chosen, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of others, but because it is most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition, and to the desire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, necessity and the sword of the enemy make way for the others. Remember his majesty's admonition; I say, remember it[d]." From these avowed maxims, the Commons foresaw that, if the least handle were afforded, the king would immediately dissolve them, and would thenceforward deem himself justified for violating, in a manner still more open, all the ancient forms of the constitution. No remedy could then be looked for, but from insurrections and civil war, of which the issue would be extremely uncertain, and which must, in all events, prove calamitous to the nation. To correct the late disorders in the administration required some new laws which would, no doubt, appear harsh to a prince so enamoured of his prerogative; and it was requisite to temper, by the decency and moderation of their debates, the rigour which must necessarily attend their determinations. Nothing can give us a higher idea of the capacity of those men who now guided the Commons, and of the great authority which they had acquired, than the forming and executing of so judicious and so difficult a plan of operations.

The decency, however, which the popular leaders had prescribed to themselves and recommended to others, hindered them not from making the loudest and most vigorous complaints against the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured. Sir Francis Seymour said, "This is the great council of the kingdom, and here with certainty, if not here only, his majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by his writs, in order to give him faithful counsel, such as may stand with his honour: and this we must do without flattery. We are also sent hither by the people in order to deliver their just grievances: and this we must do without fear. Let us not act like Cambyses'

---

[c] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 477. Franklyn, p. 233.
[d] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 479. Franklyn, p. 234.

1628.

judges, who, when their approbation was demanded by the prince to some illegal measure, said that, *Though there was a written law, the Persian kings might follow their own will and pleasure.* This was base flattery, fitter for our reproof than our imitation; and as fear, so flattery, taketh away the judgment. For my part, I shall shun both; and speak my mind with as much duty as any man to his majesty, without neglecting the public.

"But how can we express our affections, while we retain our fears; or speak of giving, till we know whether we have any thing to give? For if his majesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what need we give?

"That this hath been done, appeareth by the billeting of soldiers, a thing no wise advantageous to the king's service, and a burden to the commonwealth; by the imprisonment of gentlemen for refusing the loan, who, if they had done the contrary for fear, had been as blameable as the projectors of that oppressive measure. To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached in the pulpit, or rather prated, that *All we have is the king's by divine right?* but when preachers forsake their own calling, and turn ignorant statesmen, we see how willing they are to exchange a good conscience for a bishopric.

"He, I must confess, is no good subject, who would not, willingly and cheerfully, lay down his life, when that sacrifice may promote the interests of his sovereign and the good of the commonwealth. But he is not a good subject, he is a slave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom. By opposing these practices, we shall but tread in the steps of our forefathers, who still preferred the public before their private interest, nay, before their very lives. It will in us be a wrong done to ourselves, to our posterities, to our consciences, if we forego this claim and pretension[e]."

"I read of a custom," said Sir Robert Philips, "among the old Romans, that, once every year, they held a solemn festival, in which their slaves had liberty, without exception, to speak what they pleased, in order to ease their afflicted minds, and, on the conclusion of the festival, the slaves severally returned to their former servitudes.

---

[e] Franklyn, p. 243. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 499.

CHAP. LI.

1628.

"This institution may, with some distinction, well set forth our present state and condition. After the revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferance of many violent oppressions, we have now, at last, as those slaves, obtained, for a day, some liberty of speech; but shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves; for we are born free. Yet what new illegal burdens our estates and persons have groaned under, my heart yearns to think of, my tongue falters to utter.

"The grievances, by which we are oppressed, I draw under two heads: acts of power against law, and the judgments of lawyers against our liberty."

Having mentioned three illegal judgments passed within his memory; that by which the Scots, born after James's accession, were admitted to all the privileges of English subjects; that by which the new impositions had been warranted; and the late one by which arbitrary imprisonments were authorized; he thus proceeded:

"I can live, though another, who has no right, be put to live along with me; nay, I can live, though burdened with impositions, beyond what at present I labour under: but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me; to have my person pent up in a gaol, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged,—O improvident ancestors! O, unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of Parliament; and, at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?

"I am weary of treading these ways: and therefore conclude to have a select committee, in order to frame a petition to his majesty for redress of these grievances. And this petition being read, examined, and approved, may be delivered to the king, of whose gracious answer we have no cause to doubt, our desires being so reasonable, our intentions so loyal, and the manner so dutiful. Neither need we fear that this is the critical Parliament, as has been insinuated; or that this is the way to distraction; but assure ourselves of a happy issue. Then shall the king, as he calls us his great council, find us his true council, and own us his good council[f].”

1628.

The same topics were enforced by Sir Thomas Wentworth. After mentioning projectors and ill ministers of state, “These,” said he, “have introduced a privy-council, ravishing, at once, the spheres of all ancient government, destroying all liberty; imprisoning us without bail or bond. They have taken from us—what shall I say? Indeed, what have they left us? By tearing up the roots of all property, they have taken from us every means of supplying the king, and of ingratiating ourselves by voluntary proofs of our duty and attachment towards him.

“To the making whole all these breaches, I shall apply myself; and to all these diseases shall propound a remedy. By one and the same thing have the king and the people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. We must vindicate—what? new things? No: our ancient, legal, and vital liberties; by reinforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors; by setting such a stamp upon them that no licentious spirit shall dare henceforth to invade them. And shall we think this a way to break a Parliament? No: our desires are modest and just. I speak both for the interest of king and people. If we enjoy not these rights, it will be impossible for us to relieve him. Let us never, therefore, doubt of a favourable reception from his goodness[g].”

These sentiments were unanimously embraced by the whole House. Even the court party pretended not to plead, in defence of the late measures, any thing but the necessity to which the king had been reduced by the obstinacy of the two former Parliaments. A vote, therefore, was passed without opposition against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans[h]. And the spirit of liberty having obtained some contentment by this exertion, the reiterated messages of the king, who pressed for supply, were attended to with more temper. Five subsidies were voted him; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he declared himself well satisfied; and even tears of affection started in his eye when he was informed of this concession. The duke's approbation too was mentioned by Secretary Coke; but the conjunction of a subject with the sovereign was ill received by the House[i]. Though disgusted with the king, the jealousy which they felt for his honour was more sensible than that which his unbounded confidence in the duke would allow even himself to entertain.

---

[f] Franklyn, p. 245. Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 363. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 502.
[g] Franklyn, p. 243. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 500.
[h] Franklyn, p. 251. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 513. Whitlocke, p. 9.

The supply, though voted, was not, as yet, passed into a law; and the Commons resolved to employ the interval in providing some barriers to their rights and liberties so lately violated. They knew that their own vote, declaring the illegality of the former measures, had not, of itself, sufficient authority to secure the constitution against future invasion. Some act to that purpose must receive the sanction of the whole legislature; and they appointed a committee to prepare a model of so important a law. By collecting into one effort all the dangerous and oppressive claims of his prerogative, Charles had exposed them to the hazard of one assault; and had farther, by presenting a nearer view of the consequences attending them, roused the independent genius of the Commons. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of Parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, the billeting of soldiers, martial law; these were the grievances complained of, and against these an eternal remedy was to be provided. The Commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual powers or privileges: they aimed only at securing those which had been transmitted from their ancestors; and their law they resolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT; as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties.

Petition of right.

While the committee was employed in framing the petition of right, the favourers of each party, both in Parliament and throughout the nation, were engaged in disputes about this bill, which, in all likelihood, was to form a memorable era in the English government.

That the statutes, said the partisans of the Commons, which secure English liberty, are not become obsolete, appears hence, that the English have ever been free, and have ever been governed by law and a limited constitution. Privileges, in particular, which are founded on the GREAT CHARTER, must always remain in force, because derived from a source of never-failing authority, regarded in all ages as the most sacred contract between king and people. Such attention was paid to this charter by our generous ancestors, that they got the confirmation of it reiterated thirty several times; and even secured it by a rule, which, though vulgarly received, seems in the execution impracticable. They have established it as a maxim, *That even a statute which should be enacted in contradiction to any article of that charter cannot have force or validity.* But with regard to that important article which secures personal liberty, so far from attempting, at any time, any illegal infringement of it, they have corroborated it, by six statutes, and put it out of all doubt and controversy. If in practice it has often been violated, abuses can never come in the place of rules; nor can any rights or legal powers be derived from injury and injustice. But the title of the subject to personal liberty not only is founded on ancient, and therefore the most sacred laws; it is confirmed by the whole ANALOGY of the government and constitution. A free monarchy, in which every individual is a slave, is a glaring contradiction; and it is requisite, where the laws assign privileges to the different orders of the state, that it likewise secure the independence of the members. If any difference could be made in this particular, it were better to abandon even life or property to the arbitrary will of the prince; nor would such immediate danger ensue, from that concession, to the laws and to the privileges of the people. To bereave of his life a man not condemned by any legal trial, is so egregious an exercise of tyranny, that it must at once shock the natural humanity of princes, and convey an alarm throughout the whole commonwealth. To confiscate a man's fortune, besides its being a most atrocious act of violence, exposes the monarch so much to the imputation of avarice and rapacity, that it will seldom be attempted in any civilized government. But confinement, though a less striking, is no less severe a punishment; nor is there any spirit so erect and independent, as not to be broken by the long continuance of the silent and inglorious sufferings of a jail. The power of imprisonment, therefore, being the most natural and potent engine of arbitrary government, it is absolutely necessary to remove it from a government which is free and legal.

---

[i] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 526. Whitlocke, p. 9.

The partisans of the court reasoned after a different manner. The true rule of government, said they, during any period, is that to which the people, from time immemorial, have been accustomed, and to which they naturally pay a prompt obedience. A practice which has ever struck their senses, and of which they have seen and heard innumerable precedents, has an authority with them much superior to that which attends maxims derived from antiquated statutes and mouldy records. In vain do the lawyers establish it as a principle, that a statute can never be abrogated by opposite custom, but requires to be expressly repealed by a contrary statute: while they pretend to inculcate an axiom peculiar to English jurisprudence, they violate the most established principles of human nature; and even, by necessary consequence, reason in contradiction to law itself, which they would represent as so sacred and inviolable. A law, to have any authority, must be derived from a legislature which has right. And whence do all legislatures derive their right but from long custom and established practice? If a statute contrary to public good has, at any time, been rashly voted and assented to, either from the violence of faction or the inexperience of senates and princes, it cannot be more effectually abrogated than by a train of contrary precedents, which prove, that, by common consent, it has tacitly been set aside as inconvenient and impracticable. Such has been the case with all those statutes enacted during turbulent times in order to limit royal prerogative, and cramp the sovereign in his protection of the public and his execution of the laws. But above all branches of prerogative, that which is most necessary to be preserved is the power of imprisonment. Faction and discontent, like diseases, frequently arise in every political body; and during these disorders, it is by the salutary exercise alone of this discretionary power that rebellions and civil wars can be prevented. To cir-

1628.

cumscribe this power is to destroy its nature; entirely to abrogate it is impracticable; and the attempt itself must prove dangerous, if not pernicious, to the public. The supreme magistrate, in critical and turbulent times, will never, agreeably either to prudence or duty, allow the state to perish, while there remains a remedy which, how irregular soever, it is still in his power to apply. And if, moved by a regard to public good, he employs any exercise of power condemned by recent and express statute, how greedily, in such dangerous times, will factious leaders seize this pretence of throwing on his government the imputation of tyranny and despotism? Were the alternative quite necessary, it were surely much better for human society to be deprived of liberty than to be destitute of government.

Impartial reasoners will confess, that this subject is not, on both sides, without its difficulties. Where a general and rigid law is enacted against arbitrary imprisonment, it would appear, that government cannot, in times of sedition and faction, be conducted but by temporary suspensions of the law; and such an expedient was never thought of during the age of Charles. The meetings of Parliament were too precarious, and their determinations might be too dilatory, to serve in cases of urgent necessity. Nor was it then conceived that the king did not possess of himself sufficient power for the security and protection of his people, or that the authority of these popular assemblies was ever to become so absolute, that the prince must always conform himself to it, and could never have any occasion to guard against *their* practices, as well as against those of his other subjects.

Though the House of Lords was not insensible to the reasons urged in favour of the pretensions of the Commons, they deemed the arguments pleaded in favour of the crown still more cogent and convincing. That assembly seems, during this whole period, to have acted, in the main, a reasonable and a moderate part; and if their bias inclined a little too much, as is natural, to the side of monarchy, they were far from entertaining any design of sacrificing to arbitrary will the liberties and privileges of the nation. Ashley, the king's serjeant, having asserted, in a pleading before the Peers, that the

1628.

king must sometimes govern by acts of state as well as by law; this position gave such offence, that he was immediately committed to prison, and was not released but upon his recantation and submission[k]. Being, however, afraid lest the Commons should go too far in their projected petition, the Peers proposed a plan of one more moderate, which they recommended to the consideration of the other House. It consisted merely in a general declaration, that the great charter and the six statutes, conceived to be explanations of it, stand still in force, to all intents and purposes; that, in consequence of the charter and the statutes, and by the tenor of the ancient customs and laws of the realm, every subject has a fundamental property in his goods, and a fundamental liberty of his person; that this property and liberty are as entire at present as during any former period of the English government; that in all common cases, the common law ought to be the standard of proceedings: "And in case that, for the security of his majesty's person, the general safety of his people, or the peaceable government of the kingdom, the king shall find just cause, for reasons of state, to imprison or restrain any man's person; he was petitioned graciously to declare, that, within a *convenient* time, he shall and will express the cause of the commitment or restraint, either general or special, and upon a cause so expressed, will leave the prisoner immediately to be tried according to the common law of the land[l]."

Archbishop Abbot was employed by the Lords to recommend, in a conference, this plan of a petition to the House of Commons. The prelate, as was, no doubt, foreseen from his known principles, was not extremely urgent in his applications; and the Lower House was fully convinced that the general declarations signified nothing, but that the latter clause left their liberties rather in a worse condition than before. They proceeded, therefore, with great zeal, in framing the model of a petition, which should contain expressions more precise, and more favourable to public freedom.

The king could easily see the consequence of these proceedings. Though he had offered, at the beginning of the session, to give his consent to any law for the security of the rights and liberties of the people, he had not expected that such inroads would be made on his prerogative. In order, therefore, to divert the Commons from their intention, he sent a message, wherein he acknowledged past errors, and promised that hereafter there should be no just cause of complaint; and he added, "That the affairs of the kingdom press him so, that he could not continue the session above a week or two longer; and if the House be not ready, by that time, to do what is fit for themselves, it shall be their own fault[m]." On a subsequent occasion, he asked them, "Why demand explanations, if you doubt not the performance of the statutes according to their true meaning? Explanations will hazard an encroachment upon the prerogative; and it may well be said, What need a new law to confirm an old, if you repose confidence in the declarations which his majesty made to both Houses[n]?" The truth is, the great charter and the old statutes were sufficiently clear in favour of personal liberty; but as all kings of England had ever, in cases of necessity or expediency, been accustomed, at intervals, to elude them, and as Charles, in a complication of instances, had lately violated them, the Commons judged it requisite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded or violated by any interpretation, construction, or contrary precedent. Nor was it sufficient, they thought, that the king promised to return into the way of his predecessors. His predecessors, in all times, had enjoyed too much discretionary power; and by his recent abuse of it, the whole world had reason to see the necessity of entirely retrenching it.

---

[k] Whitlocke, p. 10.

[l] State Trials, vol. vii. p. 187. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 546.

The king still persevered in his endeavours to elude the petition. He sent a letter to the House of Lords, in which he went so far as to make a particular declaration, "That neither he nor his privy council shall or will, at any time hereafter, commit or command to prison, or otherwise restrain, any man for not lending money, or for any other cause, which in his conscience he thought not to concern the public good, and the safety of king and people." And he farther declared, "That he never would be guilty of so base an action as to pretend any cause of whose truth

---

[m] State Trials, vol. vii. p. 193.

[n] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 196. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 556.

CHAP. LI. 1628.

he was not fully satisfied [o]." But this promise, though enforced to the Commons by the recommendation of the Upper House, made no more impression than all the former messages.

Among the other evasions of the king, we may reckon the proposal of the House of Peers to subjoin to the intended petition of right the following clause: "We humbly present this petition to your majesty, not only with a care of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that *sovereign power* with which your majesty is entrusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people [p]." Less penetration than was possessed by the leaders of the House of Commons could easily discover how captious this clause was, and how much it was calculated to elude the whole force of the petition.

These obstacles, therefore, being surmounted, the petition of right passed the Commons and was sent to the Upper House [q]. The Peers, who were probably well pleased in secret that all their solicitations had been eluded by the Commons, quickly passed the petition without any material alteration; and nothing but the royal assent was wanting to give it the force of a law. The king accordingly came to the House of Peers; sent for the Commons; and being seated in his chair of state, the petition was read to him. Great was now the astonishment of all men, when, instead of the usual concise and clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, Charles said, in answer to the petition, "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put into execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong, or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative [r]."

It is surprising that Charles, who had seen so many

---

[o] State Trials, vol. vii. p. 198. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 560. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 111.

[p] State Trials, vol. vii. p. 199. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 561. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 116. Whitlocke, p. 10.

[q] See note [X X], at the end of the volume.

[r] State Trials, vol. vii. p. 212. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 590.

1628.

instances of the jealousy of the Commons, who had himself so much roused that jealousy by his frequent evasive messages during this session, could imagine that they would rest satisfied with an answer so vague and undeterminate. It was evident that the unusual form alone of the answer must excite their attention; that the disappointment must inflame their anger; and that, therefore, it was necessary, as the petition seemed to bear hard on royal prerogative, to come early to some fixed resolution, either gracefully to comply with it, or courageously to reject it.

It happened as might have been foreseen. The Commons returned in very ill humour. Usually, when in that disposition, their zeal for religion, and their enmity against the unfortunate Catholics, ran extremely high. But they had already, in the beginning of the session, presented their petition of religion, and had received a satisfactory answer; though they expected that the execution of the laws against papists would, for the future, be no more exact and rigid than they had hitherto found it. To give vent to their present indignation, they fell with their utmost force on Dr. Manwaring.

There is nothing which tends more to excuse, if not justify, the extreme rigour of the Commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of such general principles as were altogether incompatible with a limited government. Manwaring had preached a sermon, which the Commons found, upon inquiry, to be printed by special command of the king[s]; and when this sermon was looked into, it contained doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, that though property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet, whenever any exigence required supply, all property was transferred to the sovereign; that the consent of Parliament was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his subjects[t]. For these doctrines the Commons impeached Manwaring. The sentence pronounced upon him by the

---

[s] Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 206.

[t] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 585. 594. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 168, 169, 170, &c. Welwood, p. 44.

CHAP. LI. 1628.

Peers was that he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House, be fined a thousand pounds to the king, make submission and acknowledgment of his offence, be suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book be called in and burnt[u].

It may be worthy of notice, that no sooner was the session ended, than this man, so justly obnoxious to both Houses, received a pardon and was promoted to a living of considerable value[w]. Some years after, he was raised to the see of St. Asaph. If the republican spirit of the Commons increased, beyond all reasonable bounds, the monarchical spirit of the court, this latter, carried to so high a pitch, tended still farther to augment the former: and thus extremes were every where affected, and the just medium was gradually deserted by all men.

From Manwaring, the House of Commons proceeded to censure the conduct of Buckingham, whose name hitherto they had cautiously forborne to mention[x]. In vain did the king send them a message, in which he told them that the session was drawing near to a conclusion, and desired that they would not enter upon new business, nor cast any aspersions on his government and ministry[y]. Though the court endeavoured to explain and soften this message by a subsequent message[z], as Charles was apt hastily to correct any hasty step which he had taken, it served rather to inflame than appease the Commons; as if the method of their proceedings had here been prescribed to them. It was foreseen, that a great tempest was ready to burst on the duke; and in order to divert it, the king thought proper, upon a joint application of the Lords and Commons[a], to endeavour giving them satisfaction with regard to the petition of right. He came therefore to the House of Peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, *Let it be law as is desired*, gave full sanction and authority to the petition. The acclamations with which the House resounded, and the universal joy diffused over the nation, showed how much this petition had been the object of all men's vows and expectations[b].

---

[u] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 65. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 212.

[w] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 635. Whitlocke, p. 11.

[x] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 607.

[y] Ibid. vol. i. p. 605.

[z] Ibid. vol. i. p. 610. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 197.

[a] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 613. Journ. 7th June, 1628. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 201.

1628.

It may be affirmed, without any exaggeration, that the king's assent to the petition of right produced such a change in the government, as was almost equivalent to a revolution; and by circumscribing, in so many articles, the royal prerogative, gave additional security to the liberties of the subject. Yet were the Commons far from being satisfied with this important concession. Their ill humour had been so much irritated by the king's frequent evasions and delays, that it could not be presently appeased by an assent, which he allowed to be so reluctantly extorted from him. Perhaps too the popular leaders, implacable and artful, saw the opportunity favourable; and, turning against the king those very weapons with which he had furnished them, resolved to pursue the victory. The bill, however, for five subsidies, which had been formerly voted, immediately passed the House; because the granting of that supply was, in a manner, tacitly contracted for, upon the royal assent to the petition; and had faith been here violated, no farther confidence could have subsisted between king and Parliament. Having made this concession, the Commons continued to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. In some particulars their industry was laudable: in some it may be liable to censure.

A little after writs were issued for summoning this Parliament, a commission had been granted to Sir Thomas Coventry, lord keeper, the Earl of Marlborough, treasurer, the Earl of Manchester, president of the council, the Earl of Worcester, privy seal, the Duke of Buckingham, high admiral, and all the considerable officers of the crown; in the whole thirty-three. By this commission, which, from the number of persons named in it, could be no secret, the commissioners were empowered to meet and to concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise; *Where form and circumstance*, as expressed in the commission, *must be dispensed with, rather than the substance be lost or hazarded*[c]. In other words, this was a scheme for finding expedients

---

[b] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 613.

[c] Ibid. vol. i. p. 614. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 214.

CHAP. LI. 1628.

which might raise the prerogative to the greatest height, and render Parliaments entirely useless. The Commons applied for cancelling the commission[d], and were, no doubt, desirous that all the world should conclude the king's principles to be extremely arbitrary, and should observe what little regard he was disposed to pay to the liberties and privileges of his people.

A commission had likewise been granted, and some money remitted, in order to raise a thousand German horse, and transport them into England. These were supposed to be levied, in order to support the projected impositions or excises; though the number seems insufficient for such a purpose[e]; the House took notice of this design in severe terms; and no measure, surely, could be projected more generally odious to the whole nation. It must, however, be confessed, that the king was so far right, that he had now, at last, fallen on the only effectual method for supporting his prerogative. But at the same time he should have been sensible, that, till provided with a sufficient military force, all his attempts, in opposition to the rising spirit of the nation, must, in the end, prove wholly fruitless; and that the higher he screwed up the springs of government, while he had so little real power to retain them in that forced situation, with more fatal violence must they fly out, when any accident occurred to restore them to their natural action.

The Commons next resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct and behaviour, against whom they were implacable. They agreed to present a remonstrance to the king, in which they recapitulated all national grievances and misfortunes, and omitted no circumstance which could render the whole administration despicable and odious. The compositions with Catholics, they said, amounted to no less than a toleration, hateful to God, full of dishonour and disprofit to his majesty, and of extreme scandal and grief to his good people; they took notice of the violations of liberty above mentioned, against which the petition of right seems to have provided a sufficient remedy; they mentioned the decay of trade, the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé, the encouragement given to Arminians, the commission for transporting German horse, that for levying illegal impositions; and all these grievances they ascribed solely to the ill conduct of the Duke of Buckingham[f]. This remonstrance was, perhaps, not the less provoking to Charles, because, joined to the extreme acrimony of the subject, there were preserved in it, as in most of the remonstrances of that age, an affected civility and submission in the language. And as it was the first return which he met with for his late beneficial concessions, and for his sacrifices of prerogative, the greatest by far ever made by an English sovereign, nothing could be more the object of just and natural indignation.

---

[d] Journ. 13th June, 1628.

[e] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 612.

It was not without good grounds that the Commons were so fierce and assuming. Though they had already granted the king the supply of five subsidies, they still retained a pledge in their hands, which they thought ensured them success in all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by Parliament; and the Commons had artfully, this session, concealed their intention of invading that branch of the revenue, till the royal assent had been obtained to the petition of right, which they justly deemed of such importance. They then openly asserted, that the levying of tonnage and poundage, without consent of Parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right, so lately granted[g]. The king, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting of this remonstrance, came suddenly to the Parliament, and ended this session by a prorogation[h].

Prorogation. 26th June.

Being freed for some time from the embarrassment of this assembly, Charles began to look towards foreign wars, where all his efforts were equally unsuccessful as in his domestic government. The Earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was despatched to the relief of Rochelle, now closely besieged by land, and threatened with a blockade by sea: but he returned without effecting any thing; and having declined to attack the enemy's fleet, he brought on the English arms the imputation

---

[f] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 619. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 219, 220, &c.
[g] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 628. Journ. 18th, 20th June, 1628.
[h] Journ. 26th June, 1628.

1628.

either of cowardice or ill conduct. In order to repair this dishonour, the duke went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army, on which all the subsidies given by Parliament had been expended. This supply had very much disappointed the king's expectations. The same mutinous spirit which prevailed in the House of Commons had diffused itself over the nation; and the commissioners appointed for making the assessments had connived at all frauds which might diminish the supply, and reduce the crown to still greater necessities. This national discontent, communicated to a desperate enthusiast, soon broke out in an event which may be considered as remarkable.

There was one Felton, of a good family, but of an ardent and melancholic temper, who had served under the duke in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat of the isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; and when disappointed, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his sullen, unsociable mind, he heard the nation resound with complaints against the duke; and he met with the remonstrance of the Commons, in which his enemy was represented as the cause of every national grievance, and as the great enemy of the public. Religious fanaticism farther inflamed these vindictive reflections; and he fancied that he should do Heaven acceptable service, if, at one blow, he despatched this dangerous foe to religion and to his country[i]. Full of these dark views he secretly arrived at Portsmouth, at the same time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of effecting his bloody purpose.

23rd Aug.

Buckingham had been engaged in conversation with Soubize, and other French gentlemen; and a difference of sentiment having arisen, the dispute, though conducted with temper and decency, had produced some of those vehement gesticulations and lively exertions of voice, in which that nation, more than the English, are apt to indulge themselves. The conversation being finished, the duke drew towards the door; and in that passage, turning himself to speak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was, on the sudden, over Sir Thomas's shoulder,

---

[i] May's Hist. of the Parliament, p. 10.

CHAP. LI.

1628.

Death of Buckingham.

struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering other words than, *The villain has killed me*, in the same moment pulling out the knife, he breathed his last.

No man had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the confusion every one made his own conjecture; and all agreed that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been understood by the bystanders. In the hurry of revenge, they had instantly been put to death, had they not been saved by some of more temper and judgment, who, though they had the same opinion of their guilt, thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial and examination.

Near the door there was found a hat, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the Commons which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation, or attempt towards a prayer. It was easily concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin: but the difficulty still remained, *Who that person should be?* For the writing discovered not the name: and whoever he was, it was natural to believe that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat.

In this hurry, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out, *Here is the fellow who killed the duke;* every body ran to ask, *Which is he?* The man very sedately answered, *I am he.* The more furious immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords: others, more deliberate, defended and protected him: he himself, with open arms, calmly and cheerfully exposed his breast to the swords of the most enraged; being willing to fall a sudden sacrifice to their anger, rather than be reserved for that public justice which, he knew, must be executed upon him.

He was now known to be that Felton who had served in the army. Being carried into a private room, it was thought proper so far to dissemble as to tell him, that Buckingham was only grievously wounded, but not without hopes of recovery. Felton smiled, and told them, that the duke, he knew full well, had received a blow which had terminated all their hopes. When asked, at whose instigation he had performed the horrid deed? he replied,

CHAP. LI. 1628.

that they needed not to trouble themselves in that inquiry; that no man living had credit enough with him to have disposed him to such an action; that he had not even entrusted his purpose to any one; that the resolution proceeded only from himself, and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear if his hat were found; for that believing he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them[k].

When the king was informed of this assassination, he received the news in public with an unmoved and undisturbed countenance; and the courtiers, who studied his looks, concluded, that secretly he was not displeased to be rid of a minister so generally odious to the nation[l]. But Charles's command of himself proceeded entirely from the gravity and composure of his temper. He was still, as much as ever, attached to his favourite; and during his whole life he retained an affection for Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice against his enemies. He urged, too, that Felton should be put to the question, in order to extort from him a discovery of his accomplices; but the judges declared, that though that practice had formerly been very usual, it was altogether illegal. So much more exact reasoners, with regard to law, had they become, from the jealous scruples of the House of Commons.

Meanwhile the distress of Rochelle had risen to the utmost extremity. That vast genius of Richelieu, which made him form the greatest enterprises, led him to attempt their execution by means equally great and extraordinary. In order to deprive Rochelle of all succour, he had dared to project the throwing across the harbour a mole of a mile's extent in that boisterous ocean; and having executed his project, he now held the town closely blockaded on all sides. The inhabitants, though pressed with the greatest rigours of famine, still refused to submit; being supported partly by the lectures of their zealous preachers, partly by the daily hopes of relief from England. After Buckingham's death, the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the Earl of Lindesey; who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour: but by the delays of the English, that work was now fully finished, and fortified; and the Rochellers, finding their last hopes to fail them, were reduced to surrender at discretion, even in sight of the English admiral. Of fifteen thousand persons shut up in the city, four thousand alone survived the fatigues and famine which they had undergone [m]. 1628. 18th Oct.

---

[k] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 27, 28.

[l] Warwick, p. 34.

This was the first necessary step towards the prosperity of France. Foreign enemies, as well as domestic factions, being deprived of this resource, that kingdom began now to shine forth in its full splendour. By a steady prosecution of wise plans, both of war and policy, it gradually gained an ascendant over the rival power of Spain; and every order of the state, and every sect, were reduced to pay submission to the lawful authority of the sovereign. The victory, however, over the Hugonots was at first pushed by the French king with great moderation. A toleration was still continued to them; the only avowed and open toleration which, at that time, was granted in any European kingdom.

1629.

20th Jan. New session of Parliament.

The failure of an enterprise, in which the English nation, from religious sympathy, so much interested themselves, could not but diminish the king's authority in the Parliament during the approaching session: but the Commons, when assembled, found many other causes of complaint. Buckingham's conduct and character with some had afforded a reason, with others a pretence, for discontent against public measures: but after his death there wanted not new reasons and new pretences for general dissatisfaction. Manwaring's pardon and promotion were taken notice of: Sibthorpe and Cosins, two clergymen, who, for like reasons, were no less obnoxious to the Commons, had met with like favour from the king: Montague, who had been censured for moderation towards the Catholics, the greatest of crimes, had been created Bishop of Chichester. They found, likewise, upon inquiry, that all the copies of the petition of right, which were dispersed, had by the king's orders annexed to them the first answer, which had given so little satisfaction to the Commons [n]. An expedient by which

---

[m] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 636.

[n] State Trials, vol. vii. p. 216. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 643.

Charles endeavoured to persuade the people that he had nowise receded from his former claims and pretensions, particularly with regard to the levying of tonnage and poundage. Selden also complained in the House, that one Savage, contrary to the petition of right, had been punished with the loss of his ears, by a discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber[o]. So apt were they, on their part, to stretch the petition into such consequences as might deprive the crown of powers, which, from immemorial custom, were supposed inherent in it.

Tonnage and poundage.

But the great article on which the House of Commons broke with the king, and which finally created in Charles a disgust to all Parliaments, was their claim with regard to tonnage and poundage. On this occasion, therefore, it is necessary to give an account of the controversy.

The duty of tonnage and poundage, in more ancient times, had been commonly a temporary grant of Parliament; but it had been conferred on Henry V., and all the succeeding princes, during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the defence of the kingdom. The necessity of levying this duty had been so apparent, that each king had ever claimed it from the moment of his accession; and the first Parliament of each reign had usually, by vote, conferred on the prince what they found him already in possession of. Agreeably to the inaccurate genius of the old constitution, this abuse, however considerable, had never been perceived nor remedied; though nothing could have been easier than for the Parliament to have prevented it[p]. By granting this duty to each prince during his own life, and, for a year after his demise, to the successor, all inconveniences had been obviated; and yet the duty had never for a moment been levied without proper authority. But contrivances of that nature were not thought of during those rude ages: and as so complicated and jealous a government as the English cannot subsist without many such refinements, it is easy to see how favourable every inaccuracy must formerly have proved to royal authority, which on all emergencies was obliged to supply, by discretionary power, the great deficiency of the laws.

---

[o] State Trials, vol. vii. p. 216. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 246.

[p] Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 339, 340.

1629.

The Parliament did not grant the duty of tonnage and poundage to Henry VIII. till the sixth of his reign: yet this prince, who had not then raised his power to its greatest height, continued, during that whole time, to levy the imposition: the Parliament in their very grant blame the merchants who had neglected to make payment to the crown; and though one expression of that bill may seem ambiguous, they employ the plainest terms in calling tonnage and poundage the king's due, even before that duty was conferred on him by parliamentary authority [q]. Four reigns, and above a whole century, had since elapsed; and this revenue had still been levied before it was voted by Parliament. So long had the inaccuracy continued without being remarked or corrected.

During that short interval which passed between Charles's accession and his first Parliament, he had followed the example of his predecessors; and no fault was found with his conduct in this particular. But what was most remarkable in the proceedings of that House of Commons, and what proved beyond controversy that they had seriously formed a plan for reducing their prince to subjection, was, that instead of granting this supply during the king's lifetime, as it had been enjoyed by all his immediate predecessors, they voted it only for a year; and, after that should be elapsed, reserved to themselves the power of renewing or refusing the same concession [r]. But the House of Peers, who saw that this duty was now become more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, and who did not approve of this encroaching spirit in the Commons, rejected the bill; and the dissolution of that Parliament followed so soon after, that no attempt seems to have been made for obtaining tonnage and poundage in any other form [s].

Charles, meanwhile, continued still to levy this duty by his own authority; and the nation was so accustomed to that exertion of royal power, that no scruple was at first entertained of submitting to it. But the succeeding Parliament excited doubts in every one. The Commons took there some steps towards declaring it illegal to levy tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament;

---

[q] 6 Henry VIII. cap. 14.

[r] Journ. 5th July, 1625.

[s] See note [Y Y], at the end of the volume.

1629.

and they openly showed their intention of employing this engine, in order to extort from the crown concessions of the most important nature. But Charles was not yet sufficiently tamed to compliance; and the abrupt dissolution of that Parliament, as above related, put an end, for the time, to their farther pretensions.

The following interval between the second and third Parliament was distinguished by so many exertions of prerogative, that men had little leisure to attend to the affair of tonnage and poundage, where the abuse of power in the crown might seem to be of a more disputable nature. But after the Commons, during the precedent session, had remedied all these grievances by means of their petition of right, which they deemed so necessary; they afterwards proceeded to take the matter into consideration, and they showed the same intention as formerly, of exacting, in return for the grant of this revenue, very large compliances on the part of the crown. Their sudden prorogation prevented them from bringing their pretensions to a full conclusion.

When Charles opened this session, he had foreseen that the same controversy would arise; and he therefore took care, very early, among many mild and reconciling expressions, to inform the Commons, "That he had not taken these duties as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative: but that it ever was, and still is, his meaning to enjoy them as the gift of his people; and that, if he had hitherto levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to justify himself only by the necessity of so doing, not by any right which he assumed[t]." This concession, which probably arose from the king's moderate temper, now freed from the impulse of Buckingham's violent counsels, might have satisfied the Commons, had they entertained no other view than that of ascertaining their own powers and privileges. But they carried their pretensions much higher. They insisted, as a necessary preliminary, that the king should at once entirely desist from levying these duties; after which, they were to take it into consideration, how far they would restore him to the possession of a revenue of which he had clearly divested himself. But, besides that this extreme rigour had never been exercised towards any of his predecessors, and many obvious inconveniences must follow from the intermission of the customs; there were other reasons which deterred Charles from complying with so hard a condition. It was probable that the Commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reducing their prince to perpetual dependence; they certainly would cut off the new impositions which Mary and Elizabeth, but especially James, had levied, and which formed no despicable part of the public revenue; and they openly declared, that they had at present many important pretensions, chiefly with regard to religion; and if compliance were refused, no supply must be expected from the Commons.

---

[t] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 644. Parliament. Hist. vol. viii. p. 256. 346.

It is easy to see in what an inextricable labyrinth Charles was now involved. By his own concessions, by the general principles of the English government, and by the form of every bill which had granted this duty, tonnage and poundage was derived entirely from the free gift of the people; and, consequently, might be withdrawn at their pleasure. If unreasonable in their refusal, they still refused nothing but what was their own. If public necessity required this supply, it might be thought also to require the king's compliance with those conditions which were the price of obtaining it. Though the motive for granting it had been the enabling of the king to guard the seas, it did not follow, that because he guarded the seas, he was therefore entitled to this revenue without farther formality: since the people had still reserved to themselves the right of judging how far that service merited such a supply. But Charles, notwithstanding his public declaration, was far from assenting to this conclusion in its full extent. The plain consequence, he saw, of all these rigours, and refinements, and inferences, was, that he, without any public necessity, and without any fault of his own, must, of a sudden, even from his accession, become a magistrate of a very different nature from any of his predecessors, and must fall into a total dependence on subjects over whom former kings, especially those immediately preceding, had exercised an authority almost unlimited. Entangled in a chain of consequences which he could not easily break, he was inclined to go higher, and rather deny the first principle, than admit of conclusions which to him appeared so absurd and unreasonable. Agreeably to the ideas hitherto entertained both by natives and foreigners, the monarch he esteemed the essence and soul of the English government; and whatever other power pretended to annihilate, or even abridge, the royal authority, must necessarily, he thought, either in its nature or exercise, be deemed no better than an usurpation. Willing to preserve the ancient harmony of the constitution, he had ever intended to comply, as far as he *easily* could, with the ancient forms of administration: but when these forms appeared to him, by the inveterate obstinacy of the Commons, to have no other tendency than to disturb that harmony, and to introduce a new constitution; he concluded that, in this violent situation, what was subordinate must necessarily yield to what was principal, and the privileges of the people, for a time, give place to royal prerogative. From the rank of a monarch, to be degraded into a slave of his insolent, ungrateful subjects, seemed, of all indignities, the greatest; and nothing in his judgment could exceed the humiliation attending such a state, but the meanness of tamely submitting to it, without making some efforts to preserve the authority transmitted to him by his predecessors.

Though these were the king's reflections and resolutions before the Parliament assembled, he did not immediately break with them upon their delay in voting him this supply. He thought that he could better justify any strong measure which he might afterwards be obliged to take, if he allowed them to carry to the utmost extremities their attacks upon his government and prerogative[u]. He contented himself, for the present, with soliciting the House by messages and speeches. But the Commons, instead of hearkening to his solicitations, proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion[w], which was the only grievance to which, in their opinion, they had not as yet, by their petition of right, applied a sufficient remedy.

Arminianism.

It was not possible that this century, so fertile in religious sects and disputes, could escape the controversy concerning fatalism and free-will, which, being strongly interwoven both with philosophy and theology, had, in all ages, thrown every school and every church into such inextricable doubt and perplexity. The first reformers in England, as in other European countries, had embraced the most rigid tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, and had composed, upon that system, all the articles of their religious creed. But these principles having met with opposition from Arminius and his sectaries, the controversy was soon brought into this island, and began here to diffuse itself. The Arminians finding more encouragement from the superstitious spirit of the church than from the fanaticism of the puritans, gradually incorporated themselves with the former; and some of that sect, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest preferments in the hierarchy. But their success with the public had not been altogether answerable to that which they met with in the church and the court. Throughout the nation, they still lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy. The Commons now levelled against them their formidable censures, and made them the objects of daily invective and declamation. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious. To impartial spectators surely, if any such had been at that time in England, it must have given great entertainment, to see a popular assembly, inflamed with faction and enthusiasm, pretend to discuss questions to which the greatest philosophers, in the tranquillity of retreat, had never hitherto been able to find any satisfactory solution.

---

[u] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 640.

[w] Idem, ibid. p. 651. Whitlocke, p. 12.

Amidst that complication of disputes in which men were then involved, we may observe, that the appellation *puritan* stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. In opposition to all these stood the court party, the hierarchy, and the Arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all those who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. But, as the controversies on every subject grew daily warmer, men united themselves more intimately with their friends, and separated themselves wider from their antagonists; and the distinction gradually became quite uniform and regular.

This House of Commons, which, like all the preceding during the reigns of James and Charles, and even of Elizabeth, was much governed by the puritanical party, thought that they could not better serve their cause than by branding and punishing the Arminian sect, which, introducing an innovation in the church, were the least favoured and least powerful of all their antagonists. From this measure, it was easily foreseen that, besides gratifying the animosity of the doctrinal puritans, both the puritans in discipline, and those in politics, would reap considerable advantages. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other bishops, who were the chief supporters of episcopal government, and the most zealous partisans of the discipline and ceremonies of the church, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. The same men and their disciples were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and of entire submission to princes; and if these could once be censured, and be expelled the church and court, it was concluded, that the hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be less rigidly insisted on, and the king, deprived of his most faithful friends, be obliged to abate those high claims of prerogative, on which at present he insisted.

But Charles, besides a view of the political consequences which must result from a compliance with such pretensions, was strongly determined, from principles of piety and conscience, to oppose them. Neither the dissipation incident to youth, nor the pleasures attending a high fortune, had been able to prevent this virtuous prince from embracing the most sincere sentiments of religion; and that character which, in that religious age, should have been of infinite advantage to him, proved in the end the chief cause of his ruin; merely because the religion adopted by him was not of that precise mode and sect which *began* to prevail among his subjects. His

1629.

piety, though remote from popery, had a tincture of superstition in it; and, being averse to the gloomy spirit of the puritans, was represented by them as tending towards the abominations of antichrist. Laud also had unfortunately acquired a great ascendant over him: and as all those prelates, obnoxious to the Commons, were regarded as his chief friends and most favourite courtiers, he was resolved not to disarm and dishonour himself, by abandoning them to the resentment of his enemies. Being totally unprovided with military force, and finding a refractory independent spirit to prevail among the people, the most solid basis of his authority, he thought, consisted in the support which he received from the hierarchy.

In the debates of the Commons, which are transmitted to us, it is easy to discern so early some sparks of that enthusiastic fire which afterwards set the whole nation in combustion. One Rouse made use of an allusion, which, though familiar, seems to have been borrowed from the writings of Lord Bacon[x]. "If a man meet a dog alone," said he, "the dog is fearful, though ever so fierce by nature: but if the dog have his master with him, he will set upon that man from whom he fled before. This shows, that lower natures, being backed by higher, increase in courage and strength; and certainly man, being backed with Omnipotency, is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are possible to him that believes, and where all things are possible, there is a kind of omnipotency. Wherefore, let it be the unanimous consent and resolution of us all to make a vow and covenant henceforth to hold fast our God and our religion; and then shall we henceforth expect with certainty, happiness in this world[y]."

Oliver Cromwell, at that time a young man of no account in the nation, is mentioned in these debates as complaining of one, who, he was told, preached flat popery[z]. It is amusing to observe the first words of this fanatical hypocrite correspond so exactly to his character.

The inquiries and debates concerning tonnage and poundage went hand in hand with these theological or

---

[x] Essay of Atheism.

[y] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 646. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 260.

[z] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 655. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 289.

CHAP. LI. 1629.

metaphysical controversies. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the Commons, to give an account by what authority they had seized the goods of merchants who had refused to pay these duties: the barons of the exchequer were questioned concerning their decrees on that head[a]. One of the sheriffs of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in supporting the officers of the custom-house: the goods of Rolles, a merchant and member of the House, being seized for his refusal to pay the duties, complaints were made of this violence, as if it were a breach of privilege[b]. Charles supported his officers in all these measures; and the quarrel grew every day higher between him and the Commons[c]. Mention was made in the House of impeaching Sir Richard Weston, the treasurer[d]; and the king began to entertain thoughts of finishing the session by a dissolution.

Sir John Elliot framed a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refused. He read it himself. The question being then called for, the speaker, Sir John Finch, said, *That he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question*[e]. Upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole House was in an uproar. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and was passed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papists and Arminians were there declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithet; and even the merchants who should voluntarily pay these duties were denominated betrayers of English liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman usher of the House of Lords, who was sent by the king, could not get admittance till this remonstrance was finished. By the king's order, he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings[f]. And a few days after the Parliament was dissolved.

---

[a] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 654. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 301.

[b] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 653.

[c] Idem, ibid. p. 658.

[d] Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 326.

[e] The king's power of adjourning, as well as proroguing the Parliament, was and is never questioned. In the 19th of the late king, the judges determined that the adjournment by the king kept the Parliament *in statu quo* until the next sitting; but that then no committees were to meet: but if the adjournment be by the House, then the committees and other matters do continue. Parl. Hist. vol. v. p. 466.

1629. Dissolution of the Parliament. 10th Mar.

The discontents of the nation ran high, on account of this violent rupture between the king and Parliament. These discontents Charles inflamed by his affectation of a severity which he had not power, nor probably inclination, to carry to extremities. Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Heyman, Selden, Coriton, Long, Strode, were committed to prison, on account of the last tumult in the House, which was called sedition[g]. With great difficulty, and after several delays, they were released; and the law was generally supposed to be wrested, in order to prolong their imprisonment. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned to their trial in the king's bench, for seditious speeches and behaviour in Parliament; but refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to find sureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the two former in a thousand pounds apiece, the latter five hundred[h]. This sentence, procured by the influence of the crown, served only to show the king's disregard to the privileges of Parliament, and to acquire an immense stock of popularity to the sufferers, who had so bravely, in opposition to arbitrary power, defended the liberties of their native country. The Commons of England, though an immense body, and possessed of the greater part of national property, were naturally somewhat defenceless; because of their personal equality, and their want of leaders: but the king's severity, if these prosecutions deserve the name, here pointed out leaders to them whose resentment was inflamed, and whose courage was nowise daunted by the hardships which they had undergone in so honourable a cause.

So much did these prisoners glory in their sufferings, that though they were promised liberty on that condition, they would not condescend even to present a peti-

---

[f] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 660. Whitlocke, p. 12.

[g] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 661. 681. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 354. May, p. 13.

[h] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 684. 691.

CHAP. LI. 1629.

tion to the king, expressing their sorrow for having offended him[i]. They unanimously refused to find sureties for their good behaviour, and disdained to accept of deliverance on such easy terms. Nay, Hollis was so industrious to continue his meritorious distress, that, when one offered to bail him, he would not yield to the rule of court, and be himself bound with his friend. Even Long, who had actually found sureties in the chief justice's chamber, declared in court, that his sureties should no longer continue[k]. Yet because Sir John Elliot happened to die while in custody, a great clamour was raised against the administration; and he was universally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England[l].

---

[i] Whitlocke, p. 13.

[k] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 49.

[l] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 440.

CHAPTER LII.

PEACE WITH FRANCE.—PEACE WITH SPAIN.—STATE OF THE COURT AND MINISTRY.—CHARACTER OF THE QUEEN.—STRAFFORD.—LAUD.—INNOVATIONS IN THE CHURCH.—IRREGULAR LEVIES OF MONEY.—SEVERITIES IN THE STAR-CHAMBER AND HIGH COMMISSION.—SHIP MONEY.—TRIAL OF HAMBDEN.

CHAP. LII. 1629.

THERE now opens to us a new scene. Charles, naturally disgusted with Parliaments, who, he found, were determined to proceed against him with unmitigated rigour, both in invading his prerogative, and refusing him all supply, resolved not to call any more, till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his great favourite, Buckingham, he became his own minister, and never afterwards reposed in any one such unlimited confidence. As he chiefly follows his own genius and disposition, his measures are henceforth less rash and hasty; though the general tenor of his administration still wants somewhat of being entirely legal, and perhaps more of being entirely prudent.

We shall endeavour to exhibit a just idea of the events which followed for some years; so far as they regard foreign affairs, the state of the court, and the government of the nation. The incidents are neither numerous nor illustrious; but the knowledge of them is necessary for understanding the subsequent transactions which are so memorable.

Charles, destitute of all supply, was necessarily reduced to embrace a measure which ought to have been the result of reason and sound policy: he made peace with the two crowns against which he had hitherto waged a war, entered into without necessity, and conducted without glory. Notwithstanding the distracted and helpless condition of England, no attempt was made, either by France or Spain, to invade their enemy; nor did they entertain any farther project, than to defend themselves against the feeble and ill-concerted expeditions of that kingdom. Pleased that the jealousies and quarrels between the king and Parliament had disarmed so formidable a power, they

1629.

carefully avoided any enterprise which might rouse either the terror or anger of the English, and dispose them to domestic union and submission. The endeavours to regain the good-will of the nation were carried so far by the King of Spain, that he generously released and sent home all the English prisoners taken in the expedition against Cadiz. The example was imitated by France, after the retreat of the English from the isle of Rhé. When princes were in such dispositions, and had so few pretensions on each other, it could not be difficult to conclude a peace. The treaty was first signed with France[a]. The situation of the king's affairs did not entitle him to demand any conditions for the Hugonots, and they were abandoned to the will of their sovereign. Peace was afterwards concluded with Spain; where no conditions were made in favour of the palatine, except that Spain promised in general to use their good offices for his restoration[b]. The influence of these two wars on domestic affairs, and on the dispositions of king and people, was of the utmost consequence: but no alteration was made by them on the foreign interests of the kingdom.

Peace with France and Spain. 14th April.

1630. 5th Nov.

Nothing more happy can be imagined than the situation in which England then stood with regard to foreign affairs. Europe was divided between the rival families of Bourbon and Austria, whose opposite interests, and still more their mutual jealousies, secured the tranquillity of this island: their forces were so nearly counterpoised, that no apprehensions were entertained of any event which could suddenly disturb the balance of power between them. The Spanish monarch, deemed the most powerful, lay at greatest distance; and the English, by that means, possessed the advantage of being engaged by political motives in a more intimate union and confederacy with the neighbouring potentate. The dispersed situation of the Spanish dominions rendered the naval power of England formidable to them, and kept that empire in continual dependence. France, more vigorous and more compact, was every day rising in policy and discipline; and reached at last an equality of power with the house of Austria: but her progress, slow and gradual, left it still in the power of England, by a timely interposition, to check her superiority. And thus Charles, could he have avoided all dissensions with his own subjects, was in a situation to make himself be courted and respected by every power in Europe; and what has scarcely ever since been attained by the princes of this island, he could either be active with dignity or neutral with security.

---

[a] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 23, 24. [b] Idem, ibid. p. 75. Whitlocke, p. 14.

A neutrality was embraced by the king; and during the rest of his reign he seems to have little regarded foreign affairs, except so far as he was engaged by honour, and by friendship for his sister and the palatine, to endeavour the procuring of some relief for that unhappy family. He joined his good offices to those of France, and mediated a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Poland, in hopes of engaging the former to embrace the protection of the oppressed Protestants in the empire. This was the famed Gustavus, whose heroic genius, seconded by the wisest policy, made him in a little time the most distinguished monarch of the age, and rendered his country, formerly unknown and neglected, of great weight in the balance of Europe. To encourage and assist him in his projected invasion of Germany, Charles agreed to furnish him with six thousand men; but that he might preserve the appearance of neutrality, he made use of the Marquis of Hamilton's name[c]. That nobleman entered into an engagement with Gustavus; and enlisting these troops in England and Scotland at Charles's expense, he landed them in the Elbe. The decisive battle of Leipsic was fought soon after; where the conduct of Tilly and the valour of the imperialists were overcome by the superior conduct of Gustavus, and the superior valour of the Swedes. What remained of this hero's life was one continued series of victory, for which he was less beholden to fortune than to those personal endowments which he derived from nature and from industry. That rapid progress of conquest, which we so much admire in ancient history, was here renewed in modern annals; and without that cause to which in former ages it had ever been owing. Military nations were not now engaged against an undisciplined and unwarlike people; nor heroes set in opposition to cowards. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the most celebrated generals of the age, were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany was overrun in an instant by the victorious Swede. But by this extraordinary and unexpected success of his ally, Charles failed of the purpose for which he framed the alliance. Gustavus, elated by prosperity, began to form more extensive plans of ambition; and in freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it to subjection under his own. He refused to restore the palatine to his principality, except on conditions which would have kept him in total dependence[d]. And thus the negotiation was protracted till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swedish monarch perished in the midst of a complete victory which he obtained over his enemies.

---

[c] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 46. 53. 62. 83.

We have carried on these transactions a few years beyond the present period, that we might not be obliged to return to them; nor be henceforth interrupted in our account of Charles's court and kingdoms.

State of the court and ministry.

When we consider Charles as presiding in his court, as associating with his family, it is difficult to imagine a character at once more respectable and more amiable. A kind husband, an indulgent father, a gentle master, a stedfast friend, to all these eulogies his conduct in private life fully entitled him. As a monarch, too, in the exterior qualities, he excelled: in the essential, he was not defective. His address and manner, though perhaps inclining a little towards stateliness and formality, in the main corresponded to his high rank, and gave grace to that reserve and gravity which were natural to him. The moderation and equity which shone forth in his temper *seemed* to secure him against rash and dangerous enterprises: the good sense which he displayed in his discourse and conversation *seemed* to warrant his success in every reasonable undertaking. Other endowments likewise he had attained, which, in a private gentleman, would have been highly ornamental, and which, in a great monarch, might have proved extremely useful to his people. He was possessed of an excellent taste in all the fine arts, and the love of painting was, in some degree, his favourite passion. Learned beyond what is common in princes, he was a good judge of writing in others, and enjoyed, himself, no mean talent in composition. In any other age or nation, this monarch had been secure of a prosperous and a happy reign. But the high idea of his own authority which he had imbibed, made him incapable of giving way to the spirit of liberty, which *began* to prevail among his subjects. His politics were not supported by such vigour and foresight as might enable him to subdue their pretensions, and maintain his prerogative at the high pitch to which it had been raised by his predecessors; and, above all, the spirit of enthusiasm being universally diffused, disappointed all the views of human prudence, and disturbed the operation of every motive which usually influences society.

---

[d] Franklyn, vol. i. p. 415.

But the misfortunes arising from these causes were yet remote. Charles now enjoyed himself in the full exercise of his authority, in a social intercourse with his friends and courtiers, and in a moderate use of those pleasures which he most affected.

Character of the queen.

After the death of Buckingham, who had somewhat alienated Charles from the queen, she is to be considered as his chief friend and favourite. That rustic contempt of the fair sex which James affected, and which, banishing them from his court, made it resemble more a fair or an exchange than the seat of a great prince, was very wide of the disposition of this monarch. But though full of complaisance to the whole sex, Charles reserved all his passion for his consort, to whom he attached himself with unshaken fidelity and confidence. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; though it is allowed that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipitated him into hasty and imprudent measures. Her religion, likewise, to which she was much addicted, must be regarded as a great misfortune, since it augmented the jealousy which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure for the Catholics some indulgences which were generally distasteful to the nation[e].

In the former situation of the English government, when the sovereign was in a great measure independent of his subjects, the king chose his ministers either from

---

[e] May, p. 21.

1630.

personal favour, or from an opinion of their abilities, without any regard to their parliamentary interest or talents. It has since been the maxim of princes, wherever popular leaders encroach too much on royal authority, to confer offices on them, in expectation that they will afterwards become more careful not to diminish that power which has become their own. These politics were now embraced by Charles; a sure proof that a secret revolution had happened in the constitution, and had necessitated the prince to adopt new maxims of government[f]. But the views of the king were at this time so repugnant to those of the puritans, that the leaders whom he gained lost from that moment all interest with their party, and were even pursued as traitors with implacable hatred and resentment. This was the case with Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king created, first a baron, then a viscount, and afterwards Earl of Strafford; made him president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland; and regarded him as his chief minister and counsellor. By his eminent talents and abilities, Strafford merited all the confidence which his master reposed in him: his character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love: his fidelity to the king was unshaken; but as he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he had formerly bent all his endeavours to diminish, his virtue seems not to have been entirely pure, but to have been susceptible of strong impressions from private interest and ambition. Sir Dudley Digges was about the same time created master of the rolls; Noy, attorney-general; Littleton, solicitor-general. All these had likewise been parliamentary leaders, and were men eminent in their profession[g].

Strafford.

Laud.

In all ecclesiastical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud, Bishop of London, had great influence over the king. This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure, could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise. He was disinterested, but with unceasing industry he studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character, which was his own. His zeal

---

[f] Sir Edward Walker, p. 328.

[g] Whitlocke, p. 13. May, p. 20.

1630.

was unrelenting in the cause of religion; that is, in imposing by rigorous measures his own tenets and pious ceremonies on the obstinate puritans, who had profanely dared to oppose him. In prosecution of his holy purposes, he overlooked every human consideration; or, in other words, the heat and indiscretion of his temper made him neglect the views of prudence and rules of good manners. He was in this respect happy, that all his enemies were also imagined by him the declared enemies to loyalty and true piety, and that every exercise of his anger, by that means, became in his eyes a merit and a virtue. This was the man who acquired so great an ascendant over Charles, and who led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved so fatal to himself and to his kingdoms.

Innovations in the church.

The humour of the nation ran at that time into the extreme opposite to superstition; and it was with difficulty that the ancient ceremonies to which men had been accustomed, and which had been sanctified by the practice of the first reformers, could be retained in divine service: yet was this the time which Laud chose for the introduction of new ceremonies and observances. Besides that these were sure to displease as innovations, there lay, in the opinion of the public, another very forcible objection against them. Laud, and the other prelates who embraced his measures, were generally well instructed in sacred antiquity, and had adopted many of those religious sentiments which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries; when the Christian church, as is well known, was already sunk into those superstitions which were afterwards continued and augmented by the policy of Rome. The revival, therefore, of the ideas and practices of that age could not fail of giving the English faith and liturgy some resemblance to the Catholic superstition, which the kingdom in general, and the puritans in particular, held in the greatest horror and detestation. Men also were apt to think that, without some secret purpose, such insignificant observances would not be imposed with such unrelenting zeal on the refractory nation; and that Laud's scheme was to lead back the English by gradual steps to the religion of their ancestors. They considered not, that the very insignificancy

1630.

of these ceremonies recommended them to the superstitious prelate, and made them appear the more peculiarly sacred and religious, as they could serve to no other purpose. Nor was the resemblance to the Romish ritual any objection, but rather a merit, with Laud and his brethren; who bore a much greater kindness to the mother-church, as they called her, than to the sectaries and presbyterians, and frequently recommended her as a true Christian church; an appellation which they refused, or at least scrupled, to give to the others[h]. So openly were these tenets espoused, that not only the discontented puritans believed the church of England to be relapsing fast into Romish superstition; the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud's supposed good intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting[i]. His answer was, as he says himself, *That something dwelt within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome were other than it is*[k].

A court lady, daughter of the Earl of Devonshire, having turned Catholic, was asked by Laud the reason of her conversion. *'Tis chiefly*, said she, *because I hate to travel in a crowd*. The meaning of this expression being demanded, she replied, *I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being crowded, I have gone before you.* It must be confessed, that though Laud deserved not the appellation of papist, the genius of his religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish: the same profound respect was exacted to the sacerdotal character, the same submission required to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils, the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship, and the same superstitious regard to days, postures, meats, and vestments. No wonder, therefore, that this prelate was, every where, among the puritans, regarded with horror, as the forerunner of antichrist.

As a specimen of the new ceremonies to which Laud sacrificed his own quiet and that of the nation, it may not be amiss to relate those which he was accused of employing in the consecration of St. Catherine's church, and which were the object of such general scandal and offence.

---

[h] May, p. 25.

[i] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 190. Welwood, p. 61.

[k] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1327. Whitlocke, p. 97.

On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, *Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter in!* Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered these words: *This place is holy; the ground is holy: In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.*

Going towards the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust, and threw it in the air. When he approached, with his attendants, near to the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it: and on their return, they went round the church, repeating, as they marched along, some of the psalms; and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words: *We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses.*

After this, the bishop, standing near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse he bowed towards the east, and cried, *Let all the people say, Amen.*

The imprecations being all so piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings upon such as had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on such as had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At every benediction, he in like manner bowed towards the east, and cried, *Let all the people say, Amen.*

The sermon followed; after which, the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner:

As he approached the communion-table, he made many lowly reverences: and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner

CHAP. LII. 1630.

of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards the bread; then he drew nigh again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before.

Next, he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice towards it. He approached again; and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and gave it to others. And many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls and floor and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy[l].

Orders were given and rigorously insisted on, that the communion-table should be removed from the middle of the area, where it hitherto stood in all churches, except in cathedrals[m]. It was placed at the east end, railed in, and denominated an ALTAR; as the clergyman who officiated received commonly the appellation of PRIEST. It is not easy to imagine the discontents excited by this innovation, and the suspicions which it gave rise to.

The kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, a species of embroidered vestment, in administering the sacrament, were also known to be great objects of scandal, as being popish practices; but the opposition rather increased than abated the zeal of the prelate for the introduction of these habits and ceremonies.

All kinds of ornament, especially pictures, were necessary for supporting that mechanical devotion which was purposed to be raised in this model of religion: but as these had been so much employed by the church of Rome, and had given rise to so much superstition, or what the puritans called idolatry, it was impossible to introduce them into English churches, without exciting general murmurs and complaints. But Laud, possessed of present authority, persisted in his purpose, and made several attempts towards acquiring these ornaments. Some of the pictures introduced by him were also found, upon inquiry, to be the very same that might be met with in the mass-book. The crucifix too, that eternal consolation of all pious Catholics, and terror to all sound Protestants, was not forgotten on this occasion[n].

---

[l] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 76, 77. Welwood, p. 275. Franklyn, p. 386.

[m] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 207. Whitlocke, p. 24.

It was much remarked, that Sherfield, the recorder of Salisbury, was tried in the star-chamber, for having broken, contrary to the Bishop of Salisbury's express injunctions, a painted window of St. Edmond's church in that city. He boasted that he had destroyed these monuments of idolatry; but for this effort of his zeal, he was fined five hundred pounds, removed from his office, condemned to make a public acknowledgment, and be bound to his good behaviour[o].

Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony were suspended and deprived by the high commission court: oaths were, by many of the bishops, imposed on the church-wardens; and they were sworn to inform against any one who acted contrary to the ecclesiastical canons[p]. Such a measure, though practised during the reign of Elizabeth, gave much offence, as resembling too nearly the practice of the Romish inquisition.

To show the greater alienation from the churches reformed after the presbyterian model, Laud advised that the discipline and worship of the church should be imposed on the English regiments and trading companies abroad[q]. All foreigners of the Dutch and Walloon congregations were commanded to attend the established church; and indulgence was granted to none after the children of the first denizens[r]. Scudamore, too, the king's ambassador at Paris, had orders to withdraw himself from the communion of the Hugonots. Even men of sense were apt to blame this conduct, not only because it gave offence in England, but because, in foreign countries, it lost the crown the advantage of being considered as the head and support of the reformation[s].

On pretence of pacifying disputes, orders were issued from the council, forbidding on both sides all preaching and printing with regard to the controverted points of

---

[n] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 272, 273.

[o] Ibid. p. 152. State Trials, vol. v. p. 46. Franklyn, p. 410, 411, 412.

[p] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 186.

[q] Id. ibid. p. 249. Franklyn, p. 451.

[r] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 272.

[s] State Papers collected by the Earl of Clarendon, p. 338.

1630.

predestination and free-will. But it was complained of, and probably with reason, that the impartiality was altogether confined to the orders, and that the execution of them was only meant against the Calvinists.

In return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain or detestation all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. But while these prelates were so liberal in raising the crown at the expense of public liberty, they made no scruple of encroaching themselves on the royal rights the most incontestable; in order to exalt the hierarchy, and procure to their own order dominion and independence. All the doctrines which the Romish church had borrowed from some of the fathers, and which freed the spiritual from subordination to the civil power, were now adopted by the church of England, and interwoven with her political and religious tenets. A divine and apostolical charter was insisted on, preferably to a legal and parliamentary one[t]. The sacerdotal character was magnified as sacred and indefeasible: all right to spiritual authority, or even to private judgment in spiritual subjects, was refused to profane laymen: ecclesiastical courts were held by the bishops in their own name, without any notice taken of the king's authority: and Charles, though extremely jealous of every claim in popular assemblies, seemed rather to encourage than repress those encroachments of his clergy. Having felt many sensible inconveniences from the independent spirit of Parliaments, he attached himself entirely to those who professed a devoted obedience to his crown and person; nor did he foresee that the ecclesiastical power which he exalted, not admitting of any precise boundary, might in time become more dangerous to public peace, and no less fatal to royal prerogative, than the other.

So early as the coronation, Laud was the person, according to general opinion, that introduced a novelty, which, though overlooked by Charles, made a deep impression on many of the bystanders. After the usual ceremonies, these words were recited to the king: "Stand

---

[t] Whitlocke, p. 22.

and hold fast, from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the bishops and servants of God. And as you see the clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in all places convenient, you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and man may establish you on the kingly throne, to be a mediator betwixt the clergy and the laity; and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords[u]."

The principles which exalted prerogative were not entertained by the king merely as soft and agreeable to his royal ears: they were also put in practice during the time that he ruled without Parliaments. Though frugal and regular in his expense, he wanted money for the support of government; and he levied it either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations, some more open, some more disguised, of the privileges of the nation. Though humane and gentle in his temper, he gave way to a few severities in the star-chamber and high commission, which seemed necessary, in order to support the present mode of administration, and repress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom. Under these two heads may be reduced all the remarkable transactions of this reign, during some years: for, in peaceable and prosperous times, where a neutrality in foreign affairs is observed, scarcely any thing is remarkable, but what is, in some degree, blamed or blameable. And, lest the hope of relief or protection from Parliament might encourage opposition, Charles issued a proclamation, in which he declared, "That whereas, for several ill ends, the calling again of a Parliament is divulged; though his majesty has shown, by frequent meetings with his people, his love to the use of Parliaments: yet the late abuse having, for the present, driven him unwillingly out of that course; he will account it presumption for any one to prescribe to him any time for the calling of that assembly[x]." This was generally construed as a declaration, that during this reign no more Parliaments were intended to be summoned[y]; and every measure of the king's confirmed a suspicion so disagreeable to the generality of the people.

---

[u] Franklyn, p. 114. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 201.

[x] Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 389. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 3.

Irregular levies of money.

Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The former additional impositions were still exacted. Even new impositions were laid on several kinds of merchandise[z].

The custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any trunk or chest; and to break any bulk whatever; in default of the payment of customs[a].

In order to exercise the militia, and to keep them in good order, each county, by an edict of the council, was assessed in a certain sum, for maintaining a muster-master, appointed for that service[b].

Compositions were openly made with recusants, and the popish religion became a regular part of the revenue. This was all the persecution which it underwent during the reign of Charles[c].

A commission was granted for compounding with such as were possessed of crown lands upon defective titles; and on this pretence, some money was exacted from the people[d].

There was a law of Edward II.[e], That whoever was possessed of twenty pounds a year in land should be obliged, when summoned, to appear and to receive the order of knighthood. Twenty pounds, at that time, partly by the change of denomination, partly by that in the value of money, were equivalent to two hundred in the seventeenth century; and it seemed just, that the king should not strictly insist on the letter of the law, and oblige people of so small revenue to accept of that expensive honour. Edward VI.[f] and Queen Elizabeth[g], who had both of them made use of this expedient for raising money, had summoned only those who were possessed of forty pounds a year and upwards to receive knighthood, or compound for their neglect; and Charles imitated their example in granting the same indulgence. Commissioners

---

[y] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 4. May, p. 14.

[z] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 8. May, p. 16.

[a] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 9.

[b] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 10.

[c] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 11, 12, 13. 247.

[d] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 49.

[e] *Statutum de militibus.*

[f] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 124.

[g] Idem, p. 493. 504.

1630.

were appointed for fixing the rates of composition; and instructions were given to these commissioners not to accept of a less sum than would have been due by the party upon a tax of three subsidies and a half[h]. Nothing proves more plainly, how ill-disposed the people were to the measures of the crown, than to observe, that they loudly complained of an expedient, founded on positive statute, and warranted by such recent precedents. The law was pretended to be obsolete, though only one reign had intervened since the last execution of it.

Severities of the star-chamber and high commission.

Barnard, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London, used this expression in his prayer before sermon: *Lord, open the eyes of the queen's majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry.* He was questioned in the high-commission court for this insult on the queen; but upon his submission, dismissed[i]. Leighton, who had written libels against the king, the queen, the bishops, and the whole administration, was condemned by a very severe, if not a cruel, sentence; but the execution of it was suspended for some time, in expectation of his submission[k]. All the severities, indeed, of this reign, were exercised against those who triumphed in their sufferings, who courted persecution, and braved authority; and, on that account, their punishment may be deemed the more just, but the less prudent. To have neglected them entirely, had it been consistent with order and public safety, had been the wisest measure that could have been embraced; as perhaps it had been the most severe punishment that could have been inflicted on these zealots.

1631.

In order to gratify the clergy with a magnificent fabric, subscriptions were set on foot for repairing and rebuilding St. Paul's; and the king, by his countenance and example, encouraged this laudable undertaking[l]. By order of the privy council, St. Gregory's church was removed, as an impediment to the project of extending and beautifying the cathedral. Some houses and shops, likewise, were pulled down, and compensation was made to the owners[m]. As there was no immediate prospect of as-

---

[h] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 70, 71, 72. May, p. 16.

[i] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 32.

[k] Kennet's Complete History, vol. iii. p. 60. Whitlocke, p. 15.

[l] Whitlocke, p. 17.

[m] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 88, 89, 90. 207. 462. 718.

1631. sembling a Parliament, such acts of power in the king became necessary; and in no former age would the people have entertained any scruple with regard to them. It must be remarked, that the puritans were extremely averse to the raising of this ornament to the capital. It savoured, as they pretended, of popish superstition.

A stamp duty was imposed on cards; a new tax, which, of itself, was liable to no objection, but appeared of dangerous consequence, when considered as arbitrary and illegal[n].

Monopolies were revived; an oppressive method of levying money, being unlimited, as well as destructive of industry. The last Parliament of James, which abolished monopolies, had left an equitable exception in favour of new inventions; and on pretence of these, and of erecting new companies and corporations, was this grievance now renewed. The manufacture of soap was given to a company who paid a sum for their patent[o]. Leather, salt, and many other commodities, even down to linen rags, were put under restrictions.

It is affirmed by Clarendon, that so little benefit was reaped from these projects, that of two hundred thousand pounds thereby levied on the people, scarcely one thousand five hundred came into the king's coffers. Though we ought not to suspect the noble historian of exaggerations to the disadvantage of Charles's measures, this fact, it must be owned, appears somewhat incredible. The same author adds, that the king's intention was to teach his subjects how unthrifty a thing it was to refuse reasonable supplies to the crown. An imprudent project! to offend a whole nation, under the view of punishment; and to hope, by acts of violence, to break their refractory spirits, without being possessed of any force to prevent resistance.

1632. The council of York had been first erected, after a rebellion, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority of Parliament; and this exercise of power, like many others, was indulged to that arbitrary monarch. This council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but, besides some innovations introduced by James, Charles thought proper, some time after Wentworth

[n] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 103.

[o] Idem, ibid. p. 136. 142. 189. 252.

1632. was made president, to extend its powers, and to give it a large civil jurisdiction, and that in some respects discretionary[p]. It is not improbable that the king's intention was only to prevent inconveniences, which arose, from the bringing of every cause, from the most distant parts of the kingdom, into Westminster-hall; but the consequence, in the mean time, of this measure, was the putting of all the northern counties out of the protection of ordinary law, and subjecting them to an authority somewhat arbitrary. Some irregular acts of that council were, this year, complained of[q].

1633. The court of star-chamber extended its authority; and it was matter of complaint, that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts; imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishment, beyond the usual course of justice. Sir David Foulis was fined five thousand pounds, chiefly because he had dissuaded a friend from compounding with the commissioners of knighthood[r].

Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which he called *Histrio-Mastyx*. Its professed purpose was to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing; but the author likewise took occasion to declaim against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, and Maypoles. His zeal against all these levities, he says, was first moved by observing, that plays sold better than the choicest sermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than the Bible itself. Besides, that the players were often papists, and desperately wicked; the playhouses, he affirms, are Satan's chapels, the play-haunters little better than incarnate devils; and so many steps in a dance, so many paces to hell. The chief crime of Nero he represents to have been his frequenting and acting of plays; and those who nobly conspired his death were principally moved to it, as he affirms, by their indignation at that enormity. The rest of his thousand pages is of a like strain. He had obtained a licence from Archbishop Abbot's chaplain; yet was he indicted in the star-chamber as a libeller. It was thought somewhat hard, that general invectives against plays should be interpreted into satires against the king and queen, merely because they frequented these amusements, and because the queen sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes, which were represented at court. The author, it must be owned, had in plainer terms blamed the hierarchy, the ceremonies, the innovations in religious worship, and the new superstitions, introduced by Laud[s]; and this, probably, together with the obstinacy and petulance of his behaviour before the star-chamber, was the reason why his sentence was so severe. He was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand on the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay five thousand pounds fine to the king; and to be imprisoned during life[t].

---

[p] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 158, 159, &c. Franklyn, p. 412.

[q] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 202, 203.

[r] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 215, 216, &c.

This same Prynne was a great hero among the puritans; and it was chiefly with a view of mortifying that sect, that, though of an honourable profession, he was condemned by the star-chamber to so ignominious a punishment. The thorough-paced puritans were distinguishable by the sourness and austerity of their manners, and by their aversion to all pleasure and society[u]. To inspire them with better humour was certainly, both for their own sake and that of the public, a laudable intention in the court; but whether pillories, fines, and prisons, were proper expedients for that purpose, may admit of some question.

Another expedient which the king tried, in order to infuse cheerfulness into the national devotion, was not much more successful. He renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service[w]. Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. The differences between the sects were before sufficiently great; nor was it necessary to widen them farther by these inventions.

---

[s] The music in the churches, he affirmed not to be the noise of men, but a bleating of brute beasts; choristers bellow the tenor, as it were oxen; bark a counterpart, as it were a kennel of dogs; roar out a treble, as it were a sort of bulls; and grunt out a base, as it were a number of hogs: Christmas, as it is kept, is the devil's Christmas: and Prynne employed a great number of pages to persuade men to affect the name of *puritan*, as if Christ had been a puritan: and so he saith in his Index.—Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 223.

[t] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 220, 221, &c.

[u] Dugdale, p. 2.

[w] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 193. 459. Whitlocke, p. 16, 17. Franklyn, p. 437.

1633.

Some encouragement and protection, which the king and the bishops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other cheerful festivals of the common people, were the objects of like scandal to the puritans [x].

12th June.

This year Charles made a journey to Scotland, attended by the court, in order to hold a Parliament there, and to pass through the ceremony of his coronation. The nobility and gentry of both kingdoms rivalled each other, in expressing all duty and respect to the king, and in showing mutual friendship and regard to each other. No one could have suspected, from exterior appearances, that such dreadful scenes were approaching.

One chief article of business (for it deserves the name) which the king transacted in this Parliament, was, besides obtaining some supply, to procure authority for ordering the habits of clergymen [y]. The act did not pass without opposition and difficulty. The dreadful surplice was before men's eyes; and they apprehended, with some reason, that, under sanction of this law, it would soon be introduced among them. Though the king believed that his prerogative entitled him to a power in general of directing whatever belonged to the exterior government of the church, this was deemed a matter of too great importance to be ordered without the sanction of a particular statute.

Immediately after the king's return to England, he heard of Archbishop Abbot's death: and, without delay, he conferred that dignity on his favourite, Laud; who, by this accession of authority, was now enabled to maintain ecclesiastical discipline with greater rigour, and to aggravate the general discontent in the nation.

Laud obtained the bishopric of London for his friend Juxon; and, about a year after the death of Sir Richard Weston, created Earl of Portland, had interest enough to engage the king to make that prelate high treasurer. Juxon was a person of great integrity, mildness, and humanity, and endued with a good understanding [z]. Yet did this last promotion give general offence. His birth and character were deemed too obscure for a man raised

---

[x] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 191, 192. May, p. 2.

[y] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 183. [z] Whitlocke, p. 23. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 99.

1633.

to one of the highest offices of the crown: and the clergy, it was thought, were already too much elated by former instances of the king's attachment to them, and needed not this farther encouragement to assume dominion over the laity[a]. The puritans, likewise, were much dissatisfied with Juxon, notwithstanding his eminent virtues, because he was a lover of profane field-sports and hunting.

1634. Ship-money.

Ship-money was now introduced. The first writs of this kind had been directed to sea-port towns only: but ship-money was at this time levied on the whole kingdom; and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon individuals[b]. The amount of the whole tax was very moderate, little exceeding two hundred thousand pounds: it was levied upon the people with equality: the money was entirely expended on the navy, to the great honour and advantage of the kingdom. As England had no military force, while all the other powers of Europe were strongly armed, a fleet seemed absolutely necessary for her security; and it was obvious that a navy must be built and equipped at leisure, during peace; nor could it possibly be fitted out on a sudden emergence, when the danger became urgent. Yet all these considerations could not reconcile the people to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary: by the same right any other tax might be imposed: and men thought a powerful fleet, though very desirable both for the credit and safety of the kingdom, but an unequal recompense for their liberties, which, they apprehended, were thus sacrificed to the obtaining of it.

England, it must be owned, was, in this respect, unhappy in its present situation, that the king had entertained a very different idea of the constitution, from that which *began* in general to prevail among his subjects. He did not regard national privileges as so sacred and inviolable, that nothing but the most extreme necessity could justify an infringement of them. He considered himself as the supreme magistrate, to whose care Heaven, by his birthright, had committed his people, whose duty

---

[a] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 97. May, p. 23.
[b] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 257, 258, &c.

1634.

it was to provide for their security and happiness, and who was vested with ample discretionary powers for that salutary purpose. If the observance of ancient laws and customs was consistent with the present convenience of government, he thought himself obliged to comply with that rule, as the easiest, the safest, and what procured the most prompt and willing obedience. But when a change of circumstances, especially if derived from the obstinacy of the people, required a new plan of administration, national privileges, he thought, must yield to supreme power; nor could any order of the state oppose any right to the will of the sovereign, directed to the good of the public [c]. That these principles of government were derived from the uniform tenor of the English laws, it would be rash to affirm. The fluctuating nature of the constitution, the impatient humour of the people, and the variety of events, had, no doubt, in different ages, produced exceptions and contradictions. These observations alone may be established on both sides, *that* the appearances were sufficiently strong in favour of the king to apologize for his following such maxims; and *that* public liberty must be so precarious under this exorbitant prerogative, as to render an opposition not only excusable, but laudable, in the people [d].

Some laws had been enacted during the reign of Henry VII. against depopulation, or the converting of arable lands into pasture. By a decree of the star-chamber, Sir Anthony Roper was fined four thousand pounds for an offence of that nature [e]. This severe sentence was intended to terrify others into composition; and above thirty thousand pounds were levied by that expedient [f]. Like compositions, or in default of them, heavy fines, were required for encroachments on the king's forests; whose bounds, by decrees deemed arbitrary, were extended much beyond what was usual [g]. The bounds of one forest, that of Rockingham, were increased from six miles to sixty [h]. The same refractory humour, which made the people refuse to the king voluntary supplies,

---

[c] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 535. 542.

[d] See note [Z Z], at the end of the volume.

[e] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 270. Vol. iii. App. p. 106.

[f] Idem, vol. iii. p. 333. Franklyn, p. 478.

[g] May, p. 16.

[h] Strafford's Letters and Despatches, vol. ii. p. 117.

1634.

disposed them with better reason to murmur against these irregular methods of taxation.

Morley was fined ten thousand pounds for reviling, challenging, and striking, in the court of Whitehall, Sir George Theobald, one of the king's servants[i]. This fine was thought exorbitant; but whether it was compounded, as was usual in fines imposed by the star-chamber, we are not informed.

Allison had reported, that the Archbishop of York had incurred the king's displeasure, by asking a limited toleration for the Catholics, and an allowance to build some churches for the exercise of their religion. For this slander against the archbishop, he was condemned in the star-chamber to be fined one thousand pounds, to be committed to prison, to be bound to his good behaviour during life, to be whipped, and to be set on the pillory, at Westminster, and in three other towns in England. Robins, who had been an accomplice in the guilt, was condemned by a sentence equally severe[k]. Such events are rather to be considered as rare and detached incidents, collected by the severe scrutiny of historians, than as proofs of the prevailing genius of the king's administration, which seems to have been more gentle and equitable than that of most of his predecessors. There were, on the whole, only five or six such instances of rigour during the course of fifteen years, which elapsed before the meeting of the Long Parliament. And it is also certain, that scandal against the great, though seldom prosecuted at present, is, however, in the eye of the law, a great crime, and subjects the offender to very heavy penalties.

There are other instances of the high respect paid to the nobility and to the great in that age; when the powers of monarchy, though disputed, still maintained themselves in their pristine vigour. Clarendon[l] tells us a pleasant incident to this purpose: A waterman belonging to a man of quality, having a squabble with a citizen about his fare, showed his badge, the crest of his master, which happened to be a swan; and thence insisted on better treatment from the citizen. But the other replied

---

[i] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 270.

[k] Id. ibid. p. 269.

[l] Life of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 72.

1634. carelessly, that he did not trouble his head about that goose. For this offence he was summoned before the marshal's court; was fined, as having opprobriously defamed the nobleman's crest, by calling the swan a goose; and was in effect reduced to beggary.

Sir Richard Granvile had thought himself ill-used by the Earl of Suffolk in a lawsuit; and he was accused before the star-chamber of having said of that nobleman that he was a base lord. The evidence against him was somewhat lame; yet, for this slight offence, insufficiently proved, he was condemned to pay a fine of eight thousand pounds; one half to the earl, the other to the king[m].

Sir George Markham, following a chase where Lord Darcy's huntsman was exercising his hounds, kept closer to the dogs than was thought proper by the huntsman, who, besides other rudeness, gave him foul language, which Sir George returned with a stroke of his whip. The fellow threatened to complain to his master. The knight replied, If his master should justify such insolence, he would serve him in the same manner, or words to that effect. Sir George was summoned before the star-chamber, and fined ten thousand pounds. *So fine a thing was it in those days to be a lord!*—a natural reflection of Lord Lansdown's in relating this incident[n]. The people, in vindicating their liberties from the authority of the crown, threw off also the yoke of the nobility. It is proper to remark, that this last incident happened early in the reign of James. The present practice of the star-chamber was far from being an innovation; though the present dispositions of the people made them repine more at this servitude.

1635. Charles had imitated the example of Elizabeth and James, and had issued proclamations forbidding the landed gentlemen and the nobility to live idly in London, and ordering them to retire to their country seats[o]. For disobedience to this edict, many were indicted by the attorney-general, and were fined in the star-chamber[p]. This occasioned discontents; and the sentences were

---

[m] Lord Lansdown, p. 514.

[n] Lord Lansdown, p. 515. This story is told differently in Hobart's Reports, p. 120. It there appears, that Markham was fined only five hundred pounds, and very deservedly: for he gave the lie and wrote a challenge to Lord Darcy. James was anxious to discourage the practice of duelling, which was then prevalent.

[o] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 144.

[p] Idem, ibid. p. 288.

1635. complained of as illegal. But if proclamations had authority, of which no body pretended to doubt, must they not be put in execution? In no instance, I must confess, does it more evidently appear, what confused and uncertain ideas were, during that age, entertained concerning the English constitution.

Ray, having exported fuller's earth, contrary to the king's proclamation, was, besides the pillory, condemned in the star-chamber to a fine of two thousand pounds[q]. Like fines were levied on Terry, Eman, and others, for disobeying a proclamation which forbad the exportation of gold[r]. In order to account for the subsequent convulsions, even these incidents are not to be overlooked as frivolous or contemptible. Such severities were afterwards magnified into the greatest enormities.

There remains a proclamation of this year prohibiting hackney coaches from standing in the street[s]. We are told that there were not above twenty coaches of that kind in London. There are at present near eight hundred.

1636. The effect of ship-money began now to appear. A formidable fleet of sixty sail, the greatest that England had ever known, was equipped under the Earl of Northumberland, who had orders to attack the herring busses of the Dutch, which fished in what were called the British seas. The Dutch were content to pay thirty thousand pounds for a licence during this year. They openly denied, however, the claim of dominion in the seas beyond the friths, bays, and shores; and it may be questioned whether the laws of nations warrant any farther pretensions.

This year the king sent a squadron against Salle; and with the assistance of the Emperor of Morocco, destroyed that receptacle of pirates, by whom the English commerce, and even the English coasts, had long been infested.

1637. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried in the star-chamber for seditious and schismatical libels, and were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted on Prynne. Prynne himself was tried for a new offence: and, together with another fine of five thousand pounds, was condemned to lose what remained

---

[q] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 348.

[r] Idem, ibid. p. 350.

[s] Idem, ibid. p. 316.

1637.

of his ears. Besides that these writers had attacked with great severity, and even an intemperate zeal, the ceremonies, rites, and government of the church; the very answers which they gave in to the court were so full of contumacy and of invectives against the prelates, that no lawyer could be prevailed on to sign them[t]. The rigours, however, which they underwent, being so unworthy men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they suffered, increased still farther the indignation of the public[u]. The severity of the star-chamber, which was generally ascribed to Laud's passionate disposition, was, perhaps, in itself somewhat blameable; but will naturally to us appear enormous, who enjoy, in the utmost latitude, that liberty of the press which is esteemed so necessary in every monarchy confined by strict legal limitations. But as these limitations were not regularly fixed during the age of Charles, nor at any time before; so was this liberty totally unknown, and was generally deemed, as well as religious toleration, incompatible with all good government. No age or nation, among the moderns, had ever set an example of such an indulgence: and it seems unreasonable to judge of the measures embraced during one period, by the maxims which prevail in another.

Burton, in his book where he complained of innovations, mentioned among others, that a certain Wednesday had been appointed for a fast, and that the fast was ordered to be celebrated without any sermons[w]. The intention, as he pretended, of that novelty was, by the example of a fast without sermons, to suppress all the Wednesday's lectures in London. It is observable, that the church of Rome and that of England, being both of them lovers of form and ceremony and order, are more friends to prayer than preaching: while the puritanical sectaries, who find that the latter method of address, being directed to a numerous audience present and visible, is more inflaming and animating, have always regarded it as the chief part of divine service. Such circumstances, though minute, it may not be improper to transmit to posterity; that those who are curious of tracing

---

[t] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 381, 382, &c. State Trials, vol. v. p. 66.

[u] State Trials, vol. v. p. 80.

[w] Ibid. p. 74. Franklyn, p. 839.

CHAP. LII. 1637.

the history of the human mind may remark how far its several singularities coincide in different ages.

Certain zealots had erected themselves into a society for buying in of impropriations, and transferring them to the church; and great sums of money had been bequeathed to the society for these purposes. But it was soon observed, that the only use which they made of their funds was to establish lecturers in all the considerable churches; men who, without being subjected to episcopal authority, employed themselves entirely in preaching and spreading the fire of puritanism. Laud took care, by a decree which was passed in the court of exchequer, and which was much complained of, to abolish this society, and to stop their progress[x]. It was, however, still observed, that throughout England the lecturers were all of them puritanically affected; and from them the clergymen, who contented themselves with reading prayers and homilies to the people, commonly received the reproachful appellation of *dumb dogs*.

The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country. But their enemies, unwilling that they should any where enjoy ease and contentment, and dreading perhaps the dangerous consequences of so disaffected a colony, prevailed on the king to issue a proclamation, debarring these devotees access even into those inhospitable deserts[y]. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of the council; and in these were embarked Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hambden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell[z], who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country, and fly to the other extremity of the globe, where they might enjoy lectures and discourses of any length

---

[x] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 150, 151. Whitlocke, p. 15. History of the Life and Sufferings of Laud, p. 211, 212.

[y] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 409. 418.

[z] Mather's History of New England, book i. Dugdale. Bates. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachuset's Bay, vol. i. p. 42. This last quoted author puts the fact beyond controversy. And it is a curious fact, as well with regard to the characters of the men, as of the times. Can any one doubt, that the ensuing quarrel was almost entirely theological, not political? What might be expected of the populace, when such was the character of the most enlightened leaders?

1637.

or form which pleased them. The king had afterwards full leisure to repent this exercise of his authority.

The Bishop of Norwich, by rigorously insisting on uniformity, had banished many industrious tradesmen from that city, and chased them into Holland[a]. The Dutch began to be more intent on commerce than on orthodoxy; and thought that the knowledge of useful arts and obedience to the laws formed a good citizen, though attended with errors in subjects where it is not allowable for human nature to expect any positive truth or certainty.

Complaints about this time were made, that the petition of right was, in some instances, violated, and that upon a commitment by the king and council, bail or releasement had been refused to Jennings, Pargiter, and Danvers[b].

Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, a man of spirit and learning, a popular prelate, and who had been lord-keeper, was fined ten thousand pounds by the star-chamber, committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure, and suspended from his office. This severe sentence was founded on frivolous pretences, and was more ascribed to Laud's vengeance than to any guilt of the bishop[c]. Laud, however, had owed his first promotion to the good offices of that prelate with King James. But so implacable was the haughty primate, that he raised up a new prosecution against Williams, on the strangest pretence imaginable. In order to levy the fine above mentioned, some officers had been sent to seize all the furniture and books of his episcopal palace of Lincoln; and in rummaging the house, they found in a corner some neglected letters, which had been thrown by as useless. These letters were written by one Osbaldistone, a schoolmaster, and were directed to Williams. Mention was there made of *a little great man;* and in another passage the same person was denominated *a little urchin.* By inferences and constructions, these epithets were applied to Laud; and on no better foundation was Williams tried anew, as having received scandalous letters, and not discovering that private correspondence. For this offence

---

[a] May, p. 82.

[b] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 414.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 416, &c.

CHAP. LII. 1637. another fine of eight thousand pounds was levied on him. Osbaldistone was likewise brought to trial and condemned to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory before his own school. He saved himself by flight; and left a note in his study, wherein he said, "That he was gone beyond Canterbury[d]."

These prosecutions of Williams seem to have been the most iniquitous measure pursued by the court during the time that the use of Parliaments was suspended. Williams had been indebted for all his fortune to the favour of James, but having quarrelled, first with Buckingham, then with Laud, he threw himself into the country party; and with great firmness and vigour opposed all the measures of the king. A creature of the court to become its obstinate enemy, a bishop to countenance puritans; these circumstances excited indignation, and engaged the ministers in those severe measures. Not to mention what some writers relate, that, before the sentence was pronounced against him, Williams was offered a pardon upon his submission, which he refused to make. The court was apt to think, that so refractory a spirit must by any expedient be broken and subdued.

In a former trial which Williams underwent[e], (for these were not the first,) there was mentioned, in court, a story which, as it discovers the genius of parties, may be worth relating. Sir John Lambe urging him to prosecute the puritans, the prelate asked, what sort of people these same puritans were? Sir John replied, "that to the world they seemed to be such as would not swear, whore, or be drunk; but they would lie, cozen, and deceive: that they would frequently hear two sermons a day, and repeat them too, and that sometimes they would fast all day long." This character must be conceived to be satirical; yet it may be allowed, that that sect was more averse to such irregularities as proceed from the excess of gaiety and pleasure, than to those enormities which are the most destructive of society. The former were opposite to the very genius and spirit of their religion; the latter were only a transgression of its precepts: and it was not difficult for a gloomy enthusiast to convince himself, that a strict observance of the one would atone for any violation of the other.

---

[d] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 803, &c. Whitlocke, p. 25.
[e] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 416.

CHAP. LII. 1637.

In 1632, the treasurer, Portland, had insisted with the vintners, that they should submit to a tax of a penny a quart upon all the wine which they retailed; but they rejected the demand. In order to punish them, a decree suddenly, without much inquiry or examination, passed in the star-chamber, prohibiting them to sell or dress victuals in their houses[f]. Two years after, they were questioned for the breach of this decree; and in order to avoid punishment, they agreed to lend the king six thousand pounds. Being threatened, during the subsequent years, with fines and prosecutions, they at last compounded the matter, and submitted to pay half of that duty which was at first demanded of them[g]. It required little foresight to perceive that the king's right of issuing proclamations must, if prosecuted, draw on a power of taxation.

Lilburne was accused before the star-chamber of publishing and dispersing seditious pamphlets. He was ordered to be examined; but refused to take the oath usual in that court, that he would answer interrogatories, even though they might lead him to accuse himself. For this contempt, as it was interpreted, he was condemned to be whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. While he was whipped at the cart, and stood on the pillory, he harangued the populace, and declaimed violently against the tyranny of bishops. From his pockets also he scattered pamphlets, said to be seditious; because they attacked the hierarchy. The star-chamber, which was sitting at that very time, ordered him immediately to be gagged. He ceased not, however, though both gagged and pilloried, to stamp with his foot and gesticulate, in order to show the people, that, if he had it in his power, he would still harangue them. This behaviour gave fresh provocation to the star-chamber; and they condemned him to be imprisoned in a dungeon, and to be loaded with irons[h]. It was found difficult to break the spirits of men who placed both their honour and their conscience in suffering.

---

[f] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 197.

[g] Idem, ibid. p. 451.

[h] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 465, 466, 467.

CHAP. LII. 1637.

The jealousy of the church appeared in another instance less tragical. Archy, the king's fool, who by his office had the privilege of jesting on his master, and the whole court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud, who was too sacred a person to be played with. News having arrived from Scotland of the first commotions excited by the liturgy, Archy seeing the primate pass by, called to him, *Who's fool now, my lord?* For this offence Archy was ordered, by sentence of the council, to have his coat pulled over his head, and to be dismissed the king's service[i].

Here is another instance of that rigorous subjection in which all men were held by Laud. Some young gentlemen of Lincoln's-inn, heated by their cups, having drank confusion to the archbishop, were, at his instigation, cited before the star-chamber. They applied to the Earl of Dorset for protection. *Who bears witness against you?* said Dorset. *One of the drawers*, they said. *Where did he stand, when you were supposed to drink this health?* subjoined the earl. *He was at the door*, they replied, *going out of the room. Tush!* he cried, *the drawer was mistaken: you drank confusion to the Archbishop of Canterbury's enemies; and the fellow was gone before you pronounced the last word.* This hint supplied the young gentlemen with a new method of defence; and being advised by Dorset to behave with great humility and great submission to the primate; the modesty of their carriage, the ingenuity of their apology, with the patronage of that noble lord, saved them from any severer punishment than a reproof and admonition, with which they were dismissed[k].

Trial of Hambden.

This year, John Hambden acquired, by his spirit and courage, universal popularity throughout the nation, and has merited great renown with posterity, for the bold stand which he made in defence of the laws and liberties of his country. After the imposing of ship-money, Charles, in order to discourage all opposition, had proposed this question to the judges: "Whether in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation; and whether he were not sole

---

[i] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 470. Welwood, p. 278.
[k] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 180.

1637.

judge of the necessity?" These guardians of law and liberty replied with great complaisance, "That in a case of necessity he might impose that taxation, and that he was sole judge of the necessity[1]." Hambden had been rated at twenty shillings for an estate which he possessed in the county of Buckingham: yet, notwithstanding this declared opinion of the judges, notwithstanding the great power and sometimes rigorous maxims of the crown, notwithstanding the small prospect of relief from Parliament; he resolved, rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The case was argued during twelve days in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial. The event was easily foreseen: but the principles, and reasonings, and behaviour of the parties engaged in the trial, were much canvassed and inquired into; and nothing could equal the favour paid to the one side, except the hatred which attended the other.

It was urged by Hambden's counsel, and by his partisans in the nation, that the plea of necessity was in vain introduced into a trial of law, since it was the nature of necessity to abolish all law, and, by irresistible violence, to dissolve all the weaker and more artificial ties of human society. Not only the prince, in cases of extreme distress, is exempted from the ordinary rules of administration: all orders of men are then levelled; and any individual may consult the public safety by any expedient which his situation enables him to employ. But to produce so violent an effect, and so hazardous to every community, an ordinary danger or difficulty is not sufficient; much less a necessity which is merely fictitious and pretended. Where the peril is urgent and extreme, it will be palpable to every member of the society; and though all ancient rules of government are in that case abrogated, men will readily, of themselves, submit to that irregular authority which is exerted for their preservation. But what is there in common between such suppositions and the present condition of the nation? Eng-

---

[1] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 355. Whitlocke, p. 24.

1637.

land enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours: and what is more, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves, and by their mutual enmities farther ensure her tranquillity. The very writs themselves, which are issued for the levying of ship-money, contradict the supposition of necessity, and pretend only that the seas are infested with pirates; a slight and temporary inconvenience, which may well await a legal supply from Parliament. The writs likewise allow several months for equipping the ships; which proves a very calm and deliberate species of necessity, and one that admits of delay much beyond the forty days requisite for summoning that assembly. It is strange, too, that an extreme necessity which is always apparent, and usually comes to a sudden crisis, should now have continued, without interruption, for near four years, and should have remained, during so long a time, invisible to the whole kingdom. And as to the pretension, that the king is sole judge of the necessity; what is this but to subject all the privileges of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleasure? To expect that the public will be convinced by such reasoning, must aggravate the general indignation, by adding to violence against men's persons and their property so cruel a mockery of their understanding.

In vain are precedents of ancient writs produced: these writs, when examined, are only found to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge, sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to issue such writs, is abolished, and its exercise almost entirely discontinued from the time of Edward III.[m]; and all the authority which remained, or was afterwards exercised, was to press ships into the public service, to be paid for by the public. How wide are these precedents from a power of obliging the people, at their own charge, to build new ships, to victual and pay them, for the public; nay, to furnish money to the crown for that purpose! What security either against the farther extension of this claim, or against diverting to other purposes the public money so levied? The plea of necessity would warrant any other taxation

---

[m] State Trials, vol. v. p. 245. 255.

1637.

as well as that of ship-money: wherever any difficulty shall occur, the administration, instead of endeavouring to elude or overcome it by gentle and prudent measures, will instantly represent it as a reason for infringing all ancient laws and institutions: and if such maxims and such practices prevail, what has become of national liberty? what authority is left to the great charter, to the statutes, and to that very petition of right, which, in the present reign, had been so solemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature?

The defenceless condition of the kingdom while unprovided with a navy; the inability of the king, from his established revenues, with the utmost care and frugality, to equip and maintain one; the impossibility of obtaining, on reasonable terms, any voluntary supply from Parliament: all these are reasons of state, not topics of law. If these reasons appear to the king so urgent as to dispense with the legal rules of government; let him enforce his edicts by his court of star-chamber, the proper instrument of irregular and absolute power; not prostitute the character of his judges by a decree which is not, and cannot possibly be, legal. By this means the boundaries at least will be kept more distinct between ordinary law and extraordinary exertions of prerogative; and men will know that the national constitution is only suspended during a present and difficult emergence, but has not undergone a total and fundamental alteration.

Notwithstanding these reasons, the prejudiced judges, four [n] excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown. Hambden, however, obtained by the trial the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy, and became sensible of the danger to which their liberties were exposed. These national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear to many, that liberty was totally subverted, and an unusual and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom. Slavish principles, they said, concur with illegal practices; ecclesiastical tyranny gives aid to civil usurpation; iniquitous taxes are supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lie prostrate at the feet of the monarch. What though public peace and national industry increased the commerce and opulence of the kingdom? This advantage was temporary, and due alone, not to any encouragement given by the crown, but to the spirit of the English, the remains of their ancient freedom. What though the personal character of the king, amidst all his misguided counsels, might merit indulgence, or even praise? He was but one man; and the privileges of the people, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable to be sacrificed to his prejudices and mistakes. Such, or more severe, were the sentiments promoted by a great party in the nation: no excuse on the king's part, or alleviation, how reasonable soever, could be hearkened to or admitted: and to redress these grievances, a Parliament was impatiently longed for; or any other incident, however calamitous, that might secure the people against those oppressions which they felt, or the greater ills which they apprehended, from the combined encroachments of church and state.

---

[n] See State Trials: article Ship-money, which contains the speeches of four judges in favour of Hambden.

CHAPTER LIII.

Discontents in Scotland.—Introduction of the Canons and Liturgy.—A Tumult at Edinburgh.—The Covenant.—A general Assembly.—Episcopacy abolished.—War.—A Pacification.—Renewal of the War.—Fourth English Parliament.—Dissolution.—Discontents in England.—Rout at Newburn.—Treaty of Rippon.—Great Council of the Peers.

CHAP. LIII. 1637.

THE grievances under which the English laboured when considered in themselves, without regard to the constitution, scarcely deserve the name; nor were they either burdensome on the people's properties or any way shocking to the natural humanity of mankind. Even the imposition of ship-money, independent of the consequences, was a great and evident advantage to the public, by the judicious use which the king made of the money levied by that expedient. And though it was justly apprehended, that such precedents, if patiently submitted to, would end in a total disuse of Parliaments, and in the establishment of arbitrary authority; Charles dreaded no opposition from the people, who are not commonly much affected with consequences, and require some striking motive to engage them in a resistance of established government. All ecclesiastical affairs were settled by law and uninterrupted precedent; and the church was become a considerable barrier to the power, both legal and illegal, of the crown. Peace too, industry, commerce, opulence; nay, even justice and lenity of administration, notwithstanding some very few exceptions: all these were enjoyed by the people; and every other blessing of government, except liberty, or rather the present exercise of liberty and its proper security[a]. It seemed probable, therefore, that affairs might long have continued on the same footing in England had it not been for the neighbourhood of Scotland; a country more turbulent, and less disposed to submission and obedience. It was thence the commotions first arose; and it is therefore time for us to return thither, and to give an account of the state of affairs in that kingdom.

---

[a] Clarendon, p. 74, 75. May, p. 18. Warwick, p. 62.

1637. Discontents in Scotland.

Though the pacific and not unskilful government of James, and the great authority which he had acquired, had much allayed the feuds among the great families, and had established law and order throughout the kingdom; the Scottish nobility were still possessed of the chief power and influence over the people. Their property was extensive; their hereditary jurisdictions and the feudal tenures increased their authority: and the attachment of the gentry to the heads of families established a kind of voluntary servitude under the chieftains. Besides that long absence had much loosened the king's connexions with the nobility, who resided chiefly at their country seats; they were in general at this time, though from slight causes, much disgusted with the court. Charles, from the natural piety or superstition of his temper, was extremely attached to the ecclesiastics: and as it is natural for men to persuade themselves that their interest coincides with their inclination; he had established it as a fixed maxim of policy, to increase the power and authority of that order. The prelates, he thought, established regularity and discipline among the clergy; the clergy inculcated obedience and loyalty among the people: and as that rank of men had no separate authority, and no dependence but on the crown; the royal power, it would seem, might, with the greater safety, be entrusted in their hands. Many of the prelates, therefore, were raised to the chief dignities of the state[b]: Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was created chancellor: nine of the bishops were privy-counsellors: the Bishop of Ross aspired to the office of treasurer: some of the prelates possessed places in the exchequer: and it was even endeavoured to revive the first institution of the college of justice, and to share equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority[c]. These advantages possessed by the church, and which the bishops did not always enjoy with suitable modesty, disgusted the haughty nobility, who, deeming themselves much superior in rank and quality to this new order of men,

---

[b] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 386. May, p. 29.

[c] Guthry's Memoirs, p. 14. Burnet's Mem. p. 29, 30.

CHAP. LIII. 1637.

were displeased to find themselves inferior in power and influence. Interest joined itself to ambition, and begat a jealousy, lest the episcopal sees, which, at the reformation, had been pillaged by the nobles, should again be enriched at the expense of that order. By a most useful and beneficial law, the impropriations had already been ravished from the great men: competent salaries had been assigned to the impoverished clergy from the tithes of each parish: and what remained, the proprietor of the land was empowered to purchase at a low valuation[d]. The king likewise, warranted by ancient law and practice, had declared for a general resumption of all crown lands, alienated by his predecessors; and though he took no step towards the execution of this project, the very pretension to such power had excited jealousy and discontent[e].

Notwithstanding the tender regard which Charles bore to the whole church, he had been able, in Scotland, to acquire only the affection of the superior rank among the clergy. The ministers in general equalled, if not exceeded, the nobility in their prejudices against the court, against the prelates, and against episcopal authority[f]. Though the establishment of the hierarchy might seem advantageous to the inferior clergy, both as it erected dignities to which all of them might aspire, and as it bestowed a lustre on the whole body, and allured men of family into it; these views had no influence on the Scottish ecclesiastics. In the present disposition of men's minds, there was another circumstance which drew consideration, and counterbalanced power and riches, the usual foundations of distinction among men; and that was, the fervour of piety, and the rhetoric, however barbarous, of religious lectures and discourses. Checked by the prelates in the licence of preaching, the clergy regarded episcopal jurisdiction both as a tyranny and an usurpation, and maintained a parity among ecclesiastics to be a divine privilege, which no human law could alter or infringe. While such ideas prevailed, the most moderate exercise of authority would have given disgust;

---

[d] King's Declaration, p. 7. Franklyn, p. 611.

[e] King's Declaration, p. 6.

[f] Burnet's Mem. p. 29, 30.

1637.

much more that extensive power, which the king's indulgence encouraged the prelates to assume. The jurisdiction of presbyteries, synods, and other democratical courts, was, in a manner, abolished by the bishops; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for several years[g]. A new oath was arbitrarily imposed on intrants, by which they swore to observe the articles of Perth, and submit to the liturgy and canons. And, in a word, the whole system of church government, during a course of thirty years, had been changed by means of the innovations introduced by James and Charles.

The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of the discontents which prevailed among these two orders; and where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they greedily laid hold of imaginary ones. The same horror against popery, with which the English puritans were possessed, was observable among the populace in Scotland; and among these, as being more uncultivated and uncivilized, seemed rather to be inflamed into a higher degree of ferocity. The genius of religion which prevailed in the court and among the prelates, was of an opposite nature; and having some affinity to the Romish worship, led them to mollify, as much as possible, these severe prejudices, and to speak of the Catholics in more charitable language, and with more reconciling expressions. From this foundation, a panic fear of popery was easily raised; and every new ceremony or ornament, introduced into divine service, was part of that great mystery of iniquity, which, from the encouragement of the king and the bishops, was to overspread the nation[h]. The few innovations, which James had made, were considered as preparatives to this grand design; and the farther alterations attempted by Charles were represented as a plain declaration of his intentions. Through the whole course of this reign, nothing had more fatal influence, in both kingdoms, than this groundless apprehension, which with so much industry was propagated, and with so much credulity was embraced, by all ranks of men.

Amidst these dangerous complaints and terrors of religious innovation, the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the nation were imagined, and with some reason, not to be altogether free from invasion.

---

[g] May, p. 29.

[h] Burnet's Mem. p. 29, 30, 31.

The establishment of the high commission by James, without any authority of law, seemed a considerable encroachment of the crown, and erected the most dangerous and arbitrary of all courts, by a method equally dangerous and arbitrary. All the steps towards the settlement of episcopacy had indeed been taken with consent of Parliament: the articles of Perth were confirmed in 1621: in 1633, the king had obtained a general ratification of every ecclesiastical establishment: but these laws had less authority with the nation, as they were known to have passed contrary to the sentiments even of those who voted for them, and were in reality extorted by the authority and importunity of the sovereign. The means, however, which both James and Charles had employed, in order to influence the Parliament, were entirely regular; and no reasonable pretence had been afforded for representing these laws as null or invalid.

But there prevailed among the greater part of the nation another principle, of the most important and most dangerous nature, and which, if admitted, destroyed entirely the validity of all such statutes. The ecclesiastical authority was supposed totally independent of the civil; and no act of Parliament, nothing but the consent of the church itself, was represented as sufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worship or discipline. And though James had obtained the vote of assemblies for receiving episcopacy and his new rites, it must be confessed that such irregularities had prevailed in constituting these ecclesiastical courts, and such violence in conducting them, that there were some grounds for denying the authority of all their acts. Charles, sensible that an extorted consent, attended with such invidious circumstances, would rather be prejudicial to his measures, had wholly laid aside the use of assemblies, and was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church by an authority, to which he thought himself fully entitled, and which he believed inherent in the crown.

The king's great aim was to complete the work so happily begun by his father; to establish discipline upon a regular system of canons, to introduce a liturgy into public worship, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform. Some views of policy might move him to this undertaking: but his chief motives were derived from principles of zeal and conscience.

Introduction of the canons and liturgy.

The canons for establishing ecclesiastical jurisdiction were promulgated in 1635; and were received by the nation, though without much appearing opposition, yet with great inward apprehension and discontent. Men felt displeasure at seeing the royal authority highly exalted by them, and represented as absolute and uncontrollable. They saw these speculative principles reduced to practice, and a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent either of church or state[i]. They dreaded lest, by a parity of reason, like arbitrary authority, from like pretences and principles, would be assumed in civil matters: they remarked, that the delicate boundaries which separate church and state were already passed, and many civil ordinances established by the canons, under colour of ecclesiastical institutions: and they were apt to deride the negligence with which these important edicts had been compiled, when they found that the new liturgy or service-book was every where, under severe penalties, enjoined by them, though it had not yet been composed or published[k]. It was, however, soon expected; and in the reception of it, as the people are always most affected by what is external and exposed to the senses, it was apprehended that the chief difficulty would consist.

The liturgy which the king, from his own authority, imposed on Scotland, was copied from that of England: but lest a servile imitation might shock the pride of his ancient kingdom, a few alterations, in order to save appearances, were made in it; and in that shape it was transmitted to the bishops at Edinburgh[l]. But the Scots had universally entertained a notion, that though riches and worldly glory had been shared out to them with a sparing hand, they could boast of spiritual treasures more abundant and more genuine than were enjoyed by any nation under heaven. Even their southern neighbours, they thought, though separated from Rome, still retained a great tincture of the primitive pollution, and their liturgy was represented as a species of mass, though with some less show and embroidery[m]. Great prejudices, therefore, were entertained against it, even considered in itself; much more when regarded as a preparative, which was soon to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of popery. And as the very few alterations which distinguish the new liturgy from the English, seemed to approach nearer to the doctrine of the real presence; this circumstance was deemed an undoubted confirmation of every suspicion with which the people were possessed[n].

---

[i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 106.
[k] Idem, ibid. p. 105.
[l] King's Decl. p. 18. May, p. 32.

Easter-day was, by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburgh: but in order to judge more surely of men's dispositions, the council delayed the matter till the 23rd of July; and they even gave notice, the Sunday before, of their intention to commence the use of the new liturgy. As no considerable symptoms of discontent appeared, they thought that they might safely proceed in their purpose[o]; and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the Dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service; the bishop himself and many of the privy council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of the meanest sort, most of them women, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out, *A pope! a pope! antichrist! stone him!* raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop, mounting the pulpit in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him: the council was insulted: and it was with difficulty that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the rabble, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: stones were thrown at the doors and windows: and when the service was ended, the bishop going home, was attacked,

Tumult at Edinburgh.

---

[m] King's Decl. p. 20.
[n] Burnet's Mem. p. 31. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 396. May, p. 31.
[o] King's Decl. p. 22. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 108. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 387.

1637. and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the privy seal, because he carried the bishop in his coach, was so pelted with stones, and hooted at with execrations, and pressed upon by the eager populace, that if his servants, with drawn swords, had not kept them off, the bishop's life had been exposed to the utmost danger[p].

Though it was violently suspected, that the low populace, who alone appeared, had been instigated by some of higher condition, yet no proof of it could be produced; and every one spake with disapprobation of the licentiousness of the giddy multitude[q]. It was not thought safe, however, to hazard a new insult by any new attempt to read the liturgy; and the people seemed for the time to be appeased and satisfied. But it being known that the king still persevered in his intentions of imposing that mode of worship, men fortified themselves still farther in their prejudices against it; and great multitudes resorted to Edinburgh, in order to oppose the introduction of so hated a novelty[r]. It was not long before they broke out in the most violent disorder. The Bishop of 18th Oct. Galloway was attacked in the streets, and chased into the chamber where the privy council was sitting. The council itself was besieged and violently attacked: the town council met with the same fate: and nothing could have saved the lives of all of them, but their application to some popular lords, who protected them, and dispersed the multitude. In this sedition, the actors were of some better condition than in the former; though nobody of rank seemed, as yet, to countenance them[s].

All men, however, began to unite and to encourage each other, in opposition to the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: the women took part, and, as was usual, with violence: the clergy, every where, loudly declaimed against popery and the liturgy, which they represented as the same. The pulpits resounded with vehement invectives against antichrist: and the populace, who first

---

[p] King's Decl. p. 23, 24, 25. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 388.
[q] King's Decl. p. 26. 30. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 109.
[r] King's Decl. p. 32. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 400.
[s] King's Decl. p. 35, 36. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 404.

1637.

opposed the service, was often compared to Balaam's ass, an animal, in itself, stupid and senseless, but whose mouth had been opened by the Lord, to the admiration of the whole world[t]. In short, fanaticism mingling with faction, private interest with the spirit of liberty, symptoms appeared, on all hands, of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder.

The primate, a man of wisdom and prudence, who was all along averse to the introduction of the liturgy, represented to the king the state of the nation: the Earl of Traquaire, the treasurer, set out for London, in order to lay the matter more fully before him: every circumstance, whether the condition of England or of Scotland were considered, should have engaged him to desist from so hazardous an attempt: yet was Charles inflexible. In his whole conduct of this affair, there appear no marks of the good sense with which he was endowed: a lively instance of that species of character so frequently to be met with; where there are found parts and judgment in every discourse and opinion; in many actions indiscretion and imprudence. Men's views of things are the result of their understanding alone: their conduct is regulated by their understanding, their temper, and their passions.

1638. 19th Feb.

To so violent a combination of a whole kingdom, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation; in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the Earl of Hume and Lord Lindesey: and this was the first time that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of opposition[u]. But this proved a crisis. The insurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed up at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four *tables*, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burgesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and every where obeyed, with the utmost regularity[w]. And among the first acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT.

---

[t] King's Decl. p. 31.

[u] King's Decl. p. 47, 48, &c. Guthry, p. 28. May, p. 37.

The covenant.

This famous covenant consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, and composed of many invectives, fitted to inflame the minds of men against their fellow-creatures, whom Heaven has enjoined them to cherish and to love. There followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatsoever: and all this, for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country[x]. The people, without distinction of rank or condition, of age or sex, flocked to the subscription of this covenant: few, in their judgment, disapproved of it; and still fewer durst openly condemn it. The king's ministers and counsellors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general contagion. And none but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would withdraw themselves from so salutary and so pious a combination.

The treacherous, the cruel, the unrelenting Philip, accompanied with all the terrors of a Spanish inquisition, was scarcely, during the preceding century, opposed in the Low Countries with more determined fury, than was now, by the Scots, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffensive liturgy.

June.

The king began to apprehend the consequences. He sent the Marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner, with authority to treat with the covenanters. He required the covenant to be renounced and recalled; and he thought, that on his part, he had made very satisfactory concessions, when he offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, till, in a fair and legal way, they could be received; and so to model the high commission, that it should no longer give offence to his subjects[y]. Such general declarations could not well give content to any, much less to those who carried so much higher their pretensions. The covenanters found themselves seconded by the zeal of the whole nation. Above sixty thousand people were assembled in a tumultuous manner in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. Charles possessed no regular forces in either of his kingdoms. And the discontents in England, though secret, were believed so violent, that the king, it was thought, would find it very difficult to employ in such a cause the power of that kingdom. The more, therefore, the popular leaders in Scotland considered their situation, the less apprehension did they entertain of royal power, and the more rigorously did they insist on entire satisfaction. In answer to Hamilton's demand of renouncing the covenant, they plainly told him, that they would sooner renounce their baptism [z]. And the clergy invited the commissioner himself to subscribe it, by informing him "with what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's people; what resolutions and beginnings of reformation of manners were sensibly perceived in all parts of the nation, above any measure they had ever before found or could have expected; how great glory the Lord had received thereby; and what confidence they had that God would make Scotland a blessed kingdom [a]."

---

[w] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 111. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 734.

[x] King's Decl. p. 57, 58. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 734. May, p. 38.

[y] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 754, &c.

Hamilton returned to London; made another fruitless journey, with new concessions, to Edinburgh; returned again to London; and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory concessions. The king was now willing entirely to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission court. He was even resolved to limit extremely the power of the bishops, and was content if on any terms he could retain that order in the church of Scotland [b]. And to ensure all these gracious offers, he gave Hamilton authority to summon first an assembly, then a Parliament, where every national grievance might be redressed and remedied. These successive concessions of the king, which yet came still short of the rising demands of the malecontents, discovered his own weakness, encouraged their insolence, and gave 17th Sept.

---

[z] King's Decl. p. 87.

[a] Ibid. p. 88. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 751.

[b] King's Decl. p. 137. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 762.

1638.

no satisfaction. The offer, however, of an assembly and a Parliament, in which they expected to be entirely masters, was willingly embraced by the covenanters.

Charles, perceiving what advantage his enemies had reaped from their covenant, resolved to have a covenant on his side; and he ordered one to be drawn up for that purpose. It consisted of the same violent renunciation of popery above mentioned; which, though the king did not approve of it, he thought it safest to adopt, in order to remove all the suspicions entertained against him. As the covenanters, in their bond of mutual defence against all opposition, had been careful not to except the king; Charles had formed a bond, which was annexed to this renunciation, and which expressed the duty and loyalty of the subscribers to his majesty[c]. But the covenanters, perceiving that this new covenant was only meant to weaken and divide them, received it with the utmost scorn and detestation. And without delay they proceeded to model the future assembly, from which such great achievements were expected[d].

A general assembly.

The genius of that religion which prevailed in Scotland, and which, every day, was secretly gaining ground in England, was far from inculcating deference and submission to the ecclesiastics, merely as such: or rather, by nourishing in every individual the highest raptures and ecstasies of devotion, it consecrated, in a manner, every individual, and, in his own eyes, bestowed a character on him, much superior to what forms and ceremonious institutions could alone confer. The clergy of Scotland, though such tumult was excited about religious worship and discipline, were both poor and in small numbers; nor are they in general to be considered, at least in the beginning, as the ringleaders of the sedition which was raised on their account. On the contrary, the laity, apprehending, from several instances which occurred, a spirit of moderation in that order, resolved to domineer entirely in the assembly which was summoned, and to hurry on the ecclesiastics by the same furious zeal with which they were themselves transported[e].

It had been usual, before the establishment of prelacy,

---

[c] King's Decl. p. 140, &c.

[d] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 772.

[e] King's Decl. p. 188, 189. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 761.

1638.

for each presbytery to send to the assembly, besides two or three ministers, one lay commissioner[f]; and, as all the boroughs and universities sent likewise commissioners, the lay-members in that ecclesiastical court nearly equalled the ecclesiastics. Not only this institution, which James, apprehensive of zeal in the laity, had abolished, was now revived by the covenanters: they also introduced an innovation, which served still farther to reduce the clergy to subjection. By an edict of the tables, whose authority was supreme, an elder from each parish was ordered to attend the presbytery, and to give his vote in the choice both of the commissioners and ministers who should be deputed to the assembly. As it is not usual for the ministers who are put in the list of candidates to claim a vote, all the elections, by that means, fell into the hands of the laity: the most furious of all ranks were chosen: and the more to overawe the clergy, a new device was fallen upon, of choosing to every commissioner four or five lay-assessors, who, though they could have no vote, might yet interpose with their advice and authority in the assembly[g].

The assembly met at Glasgow; and, besides a great concourse of the people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators; and it was apparent that the resolutions taken by the covenanters could here meet with no manner of opposition. A firm determination had been entered into, of utterly abolishing episcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the sabbath, and every other crime that had occurred to the accusers[h]. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; the commissioner, too, protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected; and, in his

---

[f] A presbytery in Scotland is an inferior ecclesiastical court, the same that was afterwards called a classis in England, and is composed of the clergy of the neighbouring parishes, to the number commonly of between twelve and twenty.

[g] King's Decl. p. 190, 191. 290. Guthry, p. 39, &c.

[h] King's Decl. p. 218. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 787.

1638. majesty's name, dissolved it. This measure was foreseen, and little regarded. The court still continued to sit, and to finish their business[l]. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James to the crown of England, were, upon pretty reasonable grounds, declared null and invalid. The acts of Parliament which affected ecclesiastical affairs were supposed, on that very account, to have no manner of authority. And thus episcopacy, the high commission, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful; and the whole fabric, which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication[k].

Episcopacy abolished.

1639. The independency of the ecclesiastical upon the civil power was the old presbyterian principle, which had been zealously adopted at the reformation, and which, though James and Charles had obliged the church publicly to disclaim it, had secretly been adhered to by all ranks of people. It was commonly asked, whether Christ or the king were superior? and as the answer seemed obvious, it was inferred that the assembly, being Christ's council, was superior in all spiritual matters to the Parliament, which was only the king's. But as the covenanters were sensible that this consequence, though it seemed to them irrefragable, would not be assented to by the king; it became necessary to maintain their religious tenets by military force, and not to trust entirely to supernatural assistance, of which, however, they held themselves well assured. They cast their eyes on all sides abroad and at home, whence ever they could expect any aid or support.

After France and Holland had entered into a league against Spain, and framed a treaty of partition, by which they were to conquer and to divide between them the Low Country provinces, England was invited to preserve a neutrality between the contending parties, while the French and Dutch should attack the maritime towns of Flanders. But the king replied to D'Estrades, the French ambassador, who opened the proposal, that he had a squadron ready, and would cross the seas, if necessary, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in order to prevent these projected conquests[l]. This answer, which proves that Charles, though he expressed his mind with an imprudent candour, had at last acquired a just idea of national interest, irritated Cardinal Richelieu; and in revenge, that politic and enterprising minister carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and secretly supplied the covenanters with money and arms, in order to encourage them in their opposition against their sovereign.

---

[l] May, p. 44.

[k] King's Decl. p. 317.

But the chief resource of the Scottish malecontents was in themselves and in their own vigour and abilities. No regular established commonwealth could take juster measures, or execute them with greater promptitude, than did this tumultuous combination, inflamed with bigotry for religious trifles, and faction without a reasonable object. The whole kingdom was in a manner engaged; and the men of greatest abilities soon acquired the ascendant, which their family interest enabled them to maintain. The Earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporize, had at last embraced the covenant; and he became the chief leader of that party: a man equally supple and inflexible, cautious and determined, and entirely qualified to make a figure during a factious and turbulent period. The Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Montrose, Lothian, the Lords Lindesey, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino, distinguished themselves in that party. Many Scotch officers had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under Gustavus; and these were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. The command was entrusted to Lesley, a soldier of experience and abilities. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined. Arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries. A few castles which belonged to the king, being unprovided with victuals, ammunition, and garrisons, were soon seized. And the whole country, except a small part, where the Marquis of Huntley still adhered to the king, being in the hands of the covenanters, was in a very little time put in a tolerable posture of defence[m].

War.

The fortifications of Leith were begun and carried on with great rapidity. Besides the inferior sort, and those who laboured for pay, incredible numbers of volunteers, even noblemen and gentlemen, put their hand to the work, and deemed the most abject employment to be dignified by the sanctity of the cause. Women, too, of rank and condition, forgetting the delicacy of their sex, and the decorum of their character, were intermingled with the lowest rabble; and carried on their shoulders the rubbish requisite for completing the fortifications[n].

---

[l] Mém. D'Estrades, vol. i.

[m] May, p. 49.

We must not omit another auxiliary of the covenanters, and no inconsiderable one; a prophetess, who was much followed and admired by all ranks of people. Her name was Michelson; a woman full of whimsies, partly hysterical, partly religious; and inflamed with a zealous concern for the ecclesiastical discipline of the presbyterians. She spoke at certain times only, and had often interruptions of days and weeks: but when she began to renew her ecstasies, warning of the happy event was conveyed over the whole country, thousands crowded about her house, and every word which she uttered was received with veneration, as the most sacred oracles. The covenant was her perpetual theme. The true, genuine covenant, she said, was ratified in heaven: the king's covenant was an invention of Satan. When she spoke of Christ, she usually gave him the name of the Covenanting Jesus. Rollo, a popular preacher, and zealous covenanter, was her great favourite; and paid her, on his part, no less veneration. Being desired by the spectators to pray with her, and speak to her, he answered, "That he durst not, and that it would be ill manners in him to speak while his master Christ was speaking in her[o]."

Charles had agreed to reduce episcopal authority so much, that it would no longer have been of any service to support the crown; and this sacrifice of his own interests he was willing to make, in order to attain public peace and tranquillity. But he could not consent entirely to abolish an order, which he thought as essential to the being of a Christian church, as his Scottish subjects deemed it incompatible with that sacred institution. This narrowness of mind, if we would be impartial, we must either blame or excuse equally on both sides; and thereby anticipate, by a little reflection, that judgment, which time, by introducing new subjects of controversy, will undoubtedly render quite familiar to posterity. 1639.

---

[n] Guthry's Memoirs, p. 46.

[o] King's Declaration at large, p. 227. Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton.

So great was Charles's aversion to violent and sanguinary measures, and so strong his affection to his native kingdom, that it is probable the contest in his breast would be nearly equal between these laudable passions and his attachment to the hierarchy. The latter affection, however, prevailed for the time, and made him hasten those military preparations which he had projected for subduing the refractory spirit of the Scottish nation. By regular economy, he had not only paid all the debts contracted during the Spanish and French wars, but had amassed a sum of two hundred thousand pounds, which he reserved for any sudden exigency. The queen had great interest with the Catholics, both from the sympathy of religion, and from the favours and indulgences which she had been able to procure to them. She now employed her credit, and persuaded them that it was reasonable to give large contributions, as a mark of their duty to the king, during this urgent necessity[p]. A considerable supply was obtained by this means; to the great scandal of the puritans, who were offended at seeing the king on such good terms with the Papists, and repined that others should give what they themselves were disposed to refuse him.

Charles's fleet was formidable and well supplied. Having put 5000 land forces on board, he entrusted it to the Marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Frith of Forth, and to cause a diversion in the forces of the malecontents. An army was levied of near 20,000 foot, and above 3000 horse, and was put under the command of the Earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but celebrated neither for military nor political abilities. The Earl of Essex, a man of strict honour, and extremely popular, especially among the soldiery, was appointed lieutenant-general: the Earl of Holland was general of the horse. The king himself joined the army, 29th May. and he summoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a splendid court,

---

[p] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1329. Franklyn, p. 767.

1639.

rather than of a military armament; and in this situation, carrying more show than real force with it, the camp arrived at Berwick[q].

The Scottish army was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers had more reputation and experience; and the soldiers, though undisciplined and ill-armed, were animated as well by the national aversion to England, and the dread of becoming a province to their old enemy, as by an unsurmountable fervour of religion. The pulpits had extremely assisted the officers in levying recruits, and had thundered out anathemas against all those *who went not out to assist the Lord against the mighty*[r]. Yet so prudent were the leaders of the malecontents, that they immediately sent submissive messages to the king, and craved to be admitted to a treaty.

Charles knew that the force of the covenanters was considerable, their spirits high, their zeal furious; and that, as they were not yet daunted by any ill success, no reasonable terms could be expected from them. With regard therefore to a treaty, great difficulties occurred on both sides. Should he submit to the pretensions of the malecontents, besides that the prelacy must be sacrificed to their religious prejudices, such a check would be given to royal authority, which had, very lately, and with much difficulty, been thoroughly established in Scotland, that he must expect ever after to retain in that kingdom no more than the appearance of majesty. The great men, having proved, by so sensible a trial, the impotence of law and prerogative, would return to their former licentiousness: the preachers would retain their innate arrogance: and the people, unprotected by justice, would recognize no other authority than that which they found to domineer over them. England also, it was much to be feared, would imitate so bad an example; and having already a strong propensity towards republican and puritanical factions, would expect, by the same seditious practices, to attain the same indulgence. To advance so far, without bringing the rebels to a total submission, at least to reasonable concessions, was to promise them, in all future time, an impunity for rebellion.

[q] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 115, 116, 117.

[r] Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton.

CHAP. LIII. 1639.

On the other hand, Charles considered that Scotland was never before, under any of his ancestors, so united, and so animated in its own defence; yet had often been able to foil or elude the force of England, combined heartily in one cause, and inured by long practice to the use of arms. How much greater difficulty should he find at present to subdue, by violence, a people inflamed with religious prejudices; while he could only oppose to them a nation enervated by long peace, and lukewarm in his service; or, what was more to be dreaded, many of them engaged in the same party with the rebels[s]? Should the war be only protracted beyond a campaign, (and who could expect to finish it in that period?) his treasures would fail him; and for supply he must have recourse to an English Parliament, which by fatal experience he had ever found more ready to encroach on the prerogatives, than to supply the necessities, of the crown. And what if he receive a defeat from the rebel army? This misfortune was far from being impossible. They were engaged in a national cause, and strongly actuated by mistaken principles. His army was retained entirely by pay, and looked on the quarrel with the same indifference which naturally belongs to mercenary troops, without possessing the discipline by which such troops are commonly distinguished. And the consequences of a defeat, while Scotland was enraged and England discontented, were so dreadful, that no motive should persuade him to hazard it.

It is evident that Charles had fallen into such a situation that, whichever side he embraced, his errors must be dangerous. No wonder, therefore, he was in great perplexity. But he did worse than embrace the worst side; for, properly speaking, he embraced no side at all. He concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that within eight-and-forty hours the Scots should dismiss their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him; his authority be acknowledged; and a general assembly and a Parliament be immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences[t]. What were the *reasons* which engaged the king to admit such strange

---

[s] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 936.

[t] Idem, ibid. p. 945.

1639.

articles of peace, it is in vain to inquire; for there scarcely could be any. The *causes* of that event may admit of a more easy explication.

The malecontents had been very industrious in representing to the English the grievances under which Scotland laboured, and the ill counsels which had been suggested to their sovereign. Their liberties, they said, were invaded: the prerogatives of the crown extended beyond all former precedent: illegal courts erected: the hierarchy exalted at the expense of national privileges: and so many new superstitions introduced by the haughty tyrannical prelates, as begat a just suspicion that a project was seriously formed for the restoration of popery. The king's conduct surely, in Scotland, had been in every thing, except in establishing the ecclesiastical canons, more legal than in England; yet was there such a general resemblance in the complaints of both kingdoms, that the English readily assented to all the representations of the Scottish malecontents, and believed that nation to have been driven by oppression into the violent counsels which they had embraced. So far, therefore, from being willing to second the king in subduing the free spirits of the Scots, they rather pitied that unhappy people, who had been pushed to those extremities; and they thought that the example of such neighbours, as well as their assistance, might some time be advantageous to England, and encourage her to recover, by a vigorous effort, her violated laws and liberties. The gentry and nobility, who, without attachment to the court, without command in the army, attended in great numbers the English camp, greedily seized, and propagated, and gave authority to these sentiments. A retreat, very little honourable, which the Earl of Holland, with a considerable detachment of the English forces had made before a detachment of the Scottish, caused all these humours to blaze up at once; and the king, whose character was not sufficiently vigorous or decisive, and who was apt, from facility, to embrace hasty counsels, suddenly assented to a measure which was recommended by all about him, and which favoured his natural propension towards the misguided subjects of his native kingdom [u].

---

[u] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 122, 123. May, p. 46.

Charles, having so far advanced in pacific measures, ought with a steady resolution to have prosecuted them, and have submitted to every tolerable condition demanded by the assembly and Parliament; nor should he have recommenced hostilities, but on account of such enormous and unexpected pretensions as would have justified his cause, if possible, to the whole English nation. So far, indeed, he adopted this plan, that he agreed not only to confirm his former concessions of abrogating the canons, the liturgy, the high commission, and the articles of Perth; but also to abolish the order itself of bishops, for which he had so zealously contended[w]. But this concession was gained by the utmost violence which he could impose on his disposition and prejudices. He even secretly retained an intention of seizing favourable opportunities in order to recover the ground which he had lost[x]; and one step farther he could not prevail with himself to advance. The assembly, when it met, paid no deference to the king's prepossessions, but gave full indulgence to their own. They voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: he was willing to allow it contrary to the constitutions of that church. They stigmatized the liturgy and canons as popish: he agreed simply to abolish them. They denominated the high commission, tyranny: he was content to set it aside[y]. The Parliament, which sat after the assembly, advanced pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch; and, what probably affected Charles still more, they were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly, when, by the king's instructions[z], Traquaire, the commissioner, prorogued them; and on account of these claims, which might have been foreseen, was the war renewed with great advantages on the side of the covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the king.

17th Aug.

War renewed.

No sooner had Charles concluded the pacification without conditions, than the necessity of his affairs and his want of money obliged him to disband his army; and as the soldiers had been held together solely by merce-

---

[w] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 946.

[x] Burnet's Memoirs, p. 154. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 951.

[y] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 958, &c.

[z] Idem, ibid. p. 955.

1639.

nary views, it was not possible, without great trouble and expense, and loss of time, again to assemble them. The more prudent covenanters had concluded, that their pretensions being so contrary to the interests, and still more to the inclinations of the king, it was likely that they should again be obliged to support their cause by arms; and they were therefore careful, in dismissing their troops, to preserve nothing but the appearance of a pacific disposition. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons: the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion: and the religious zeal which animated all ranks of men, made them immediately fly to their standards as soon as the trumpet was sounded by their spiritual and temporal leaders. The credit which in their last expedition they had acquired, by obliging their sovereign to depart from all his pretensions, gave courage to every one in undertaking this new enterprise[a].

1640. April 13th.

The king, with great difficulty, found means to draw together an army; but soon discovered, that all savings being gone, and great debts contracted, his revenue would be insufficient to support them. An English Parliament, therefore, formerly so unkind and intractable, must now, after above eleven years' intermission, after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, after multiplied disgusts given to the puritanical party, be summoned to assemble, amidst the most pressing necessities of the crown.

Fourth English Parliament.

As the king resolved to try whether this House of Commons would be more compliant than their predecessors, and grant him supply on any reasonable terms; the time appointed for the meeting of Parliament was late, and very near the time allotted for opening the campaign against the Scots. After the past experience of their ill humour, and of their encroaching disposition, he thought that he could not in prudence trust them with a long session, till he had seen some better proofs of their good intentions. The urgency of the occasion, and the little time allowed for debate, were reasons which he reserved against the malecontents in the House: and

---

[a] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 125. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1023.

1640.

an incident had happened, which, he believed, had now furnished him with still more cogent arguments.

The Earl of Traquaire had intercepted a letter written to the King of France by the Scottish malecontents, and had conveyed this letter to the king. Charles, partly repenting of the large concessions made to the Scots, partly disgusted at their fresh insolence and pretensions, seized this opportunity of breaking with them. He had thrown into the Tower Lord Loudon, commissioner from the covenanters, one of the persons who had signed the treasonable letter[b]; and he now laid the matter before the Parliament, whom he hoped to inflame by the resentment, and alarm by the danger, of this application to a foreign power. By the mouth of the lord-keeper, Finch, he discovered his wants, and informed them that he had been able to assemble his army, and to subsist them, not by any revenue which he possessed, but by means of a large debt of above three hundred thousand pounds which he had contracted, and for which he had given security upon the crown lands. He represented, that it was necessary to grant supplies for the immediate and urgent demands of his military armaments: that the season was far advanced, the time precious, and none of it must be lost in deliberation: that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhausted by unnecessary pomp, or sumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence: that whatever supplies had been levied on his subjects had been employed for their advantage and preservation, and like vapours rising out of the earth, and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in sweet and refreshing showers on the same fields from which they had at first been exhaled: that though he desired such immediate assistance as might prevent for the time a total disorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them from their right to inquire into the state of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the redress of their grievances: that as much as was possible of this season should afterwards be allowed them for that purpose: that as he expected only such supply at present as the current service necessarily required, it would be requisite to assemble them again next winter,

---

[b] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 129. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 956. May, p. 56.

1640.

when they should have full leisure to conclude whatever business had this session been left imperfect and unfinished: that the Parliament of Ireland had twice put such trust in his good intentions as to grant him, in the beginning of the session, a large supply, and had ever experienced good effects from the confidence reposed in him: and that, in every circumstance, his people should find his conduct suitable to a just, pious, and gracious king, and such as was calculated to promote an entire harmony between prince and Parliament[c].

However plausible these topics, they made small impression on the House of Commons. By some illegal, and several suspicious measures of the crown, and by the courageous opposition which particular persons, amidst dangers and hardships, had made to them; the minds of men, throughout the nation, had taken such a turn, as to ascribe every honour to the refractory opposers of the king and the ministers. These were the only patriots, the only lovers of their country, the only heroes, and perhaps, too, the only true Christians. A reasonable compliance with the court was slavish dependence; a regard to the king, servile flattery; a confidence in his promises, shameful prostitution. This general cast of thought, which has, more or less, prevailed in England, during near a century and a half, and which has been the cause of much good and much ill in public affairs, never predominated more than during the reign of Charles. The present House of Commons, being entirely composed of country gentlemen, who came into Parliament with all their native prejudices about them, and whom the crown had no means of influencing, could not fail to contain a majority of these stubborn patriots.

Affairs likewise, by means of the Scottish insurrection, and the general discontents in England, were drawn so near to a crisis, that the leaders of the House, sagacious and penetrating, began to foresee the consequences, and to hope, that the time, so long wished for, was now come, when royal authority must fall into a total subordination under popular assemblies, and when public liberty must acquire a full ascendant. By reducing the crown to necessities, they had hitherto found, that the king had been pushed into violent counsels, which had served extremely the purposes of his adversaries; and by multiplying these necessities, it was foreseen that his prerogative, undermined on all sides, must, at last, be overthrown, and be no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people. Whatever, therefore, tended to compose the differences between king and Parliament, and to preserve the government uniformly in its present channel, was zealously opposed by these popular leaders; and their past conduct and sufferings gave them credit sufficient to effect all their purposes.

---

[c] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1114.

The House of Commons, moved by these and many other obvious reasons, instead of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for supply, entered immediately upon grievances; and a speech which Pym made them on that subject was much more hearkened to, than that which the lord-keeper had delivered to them in the name of their sovereign. The subject of Pym's harangue has been sufficiently explained above, where we gave an account of all the grievances, imaginary in the church, more real in the state, of which the nation, at that time, so loudly complained[d]. The House began with examining the behaviour of the speaker the last day of the former Parliament; when he refused, on account of the king's command, to put the question; and they declared it a breach of privilege. They proceeded next to inquire into the imprisonment and prosecution of Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine[e]: the affair of ship-money was canvassed, and plentiful subject of inquiry was suggested on all hands. Grievances were regularly classed under three heads; those with regard to privileges of Parliament, to the property of the subject, and to religion[f]. The king, seeing a large and inexhaustible field opened, pressed them again for supply; and finding his message ineffectual, he came to the House of Peers, and desired their good offices with the Commons. The Peers were sensible of the king's urgent necessities; and thought that supply, on this occasion, ought, both in reason and in decency, to go before grievances. They ventured to represent their sense of the matter to the Commons; but their intercession did harm. The Commons had always claimed, as their peculiar province, the granting of supplies; and though the Peers had here gone no farther than offering advice, the Lower House immediately thought proper to vote so unprecedented an interposition to be a breach of privilege[g]. Charles, in order to bring the matter of supply to some issue, solicited the House by new messages; and finding that ship-money gave great alarm and disgust; besides informing them that he never intended to make a constant revenue of it; that all the money levied had been regularly, with other great sums, expended on equipping the navy; he now went so far as to offer them a total abolition of that obnoxious claim, by any law which the Commons should think proper to present to him. In return, he only asked, for his necessities, a supply of twelve subsidies, about six hundred thousand pounds, and that payable in three years; but at the same time, he let them know, that, considering the situation of his affairs, a delay would be equivalent to a denial[h]. The king, though the majority was against him, never had more friends in any House of Commons; and the debate was carried on for two days with great zeal and warmth on both sides.

---

[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 133. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1131. May, p. 60.

[e] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1136.

[f] Idem, ibid. p. 1147.

It was urged by the partisans of the court, that the happiest occasion, which the fondest wishes could suggest, was now presented, for removing all disgusts and jealousies between king and people, and for reconciling their sovereign for ever to the use of Parliaments. That if they, on their part, laid aside all enormous claims and pretensions, and provided, in a reasonable manner, for the public necessities, they needed entertain no suspicion of any insatiable ambition or illegal usurpation in the crown. That though due regard had not always been paid, during this reign, to the rights of the people, yet no invasion of them had been altogether deliberate and voluntary; much less the result of wanton tyranny and injustice; and still less, of a formed design to subvert the constitution. That to repose a reasonable confidence in the king, and generously to supply his present wants, which proceeded neither from prodigality nor misconduct, would be the true means of gaining on his generous nature, and extorting, by gentle violence, such concessions as were requisite for the establishment of public liberty. That he had promised, not only on the word of a prince, but also on that of a gentleman, (the expression which he had been pleased to use,) that, after the supply was granted, the Parliament should still have liberty to continue their deliberations. Could it be suspected, that any man, any prince, much less such a one, whose word was, as yet, sacred and inviolate, would for so small a motive forfeit his honour, and with it, all future trust and confidence, by breaking a promise so public and so solemn? That even, if the Parliament should be deceived in reposing this confidence in him, they neither lost any thing, nor incurred any danger; since it was evidently necessary, for the security of public peace, to supply him with money in order to suppress the Scottish rebellion. That he had so far suited his first demands to their prejudices, that he only asked a supply for a few months, and was willing, after so short a trust from them, to fall again into dependence, and to trust them for his farther support and subsistence. That if he now seemed to desire something farther, he also made them, in return, a considerable offer, and was willing, for the future, to depend on them for a revenue, which was quite necessary for public honour and security. That the nature of the English constitution supposed a mutual confidence between king and Parliament: and if they should refuse it on their part, especially with circumstances of such outrage and indignity, what could be expected but a total dissolution of government, and violent factions, followed by the most dangerous convulsions and intestine disorders?

---

[g] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 134.
[h] Idem, ibid. p. 135. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1154.

In opposition to these arguments, it was urged by the malecontent party, that the court had discovered, on their part, but few symptoms of that mutual confidence to which they now so kindly invited the Commons. That eleven years' intermission of Parliaments, the longest that was to be found in the English annals, was a sufficient indication of the jealousy entertained against the

1640.

people; or rather of designs formed for the suppression of all their liberties and privileges. That the ministers might well plead necessity, nor could any thing, indeed, be a stronger proof of some invincible necessity, than their embracing a measure, for which they had conceived so violent an aversion, as the assembling of an English Parliament. That this necessity, however, was purely ministerial, not national; and if the same grievances, ecclesiastical and civil, under which this nation itself laboured, had pushed the Scots to extremities; was it requisite that the English should forge their own chains, by imposing chains on their unhappy neighbours? That the ancient practice of Parliament was to give grievances the precedency of supply; and this order, so carefully observed by their ancestors, was founded on a jealousy inherent in the constitution, and was never interpreted as any peculiar diffidence of the present sovereign. That a practice, which had been upheld during times the most favourable to liberty, could not, in common prudence, be departed from, where such undeniable reasons for suspicion had been afforded. That it was ridiculous to plead the advanced season, and the urgent occasion for supply; when it plainly appeared, that in order to afford a pretence for this topic, and to seduce the Commons, great political contrivance had been employed. That the writs for elections were issued early in the winter; and if the meeting of Parliament had not purposely been delayed till so near the commencement of military operations, there had been leisure sufficient to have redressed all national grievances, and to have proceeded afterwards to an examination of the king's occasion for supply. That the intention of so gross an artifice was to engage the Commons, under pretence of necessity, to violate the regular order of Parliament; and a precedent of that kind being once established, no inquiry into public measures would afterwards be permitted. That scarcely any argument more unfavourable could be pleaded for supply, than an offer to abolish ship-money; a taxation the most illegal, and the most dangerous, that had ever, in any reign, been imposed upon the nation. And that, by bargaining for the remission of that duty, the Commons would, in a manner, ratify the authority by

1640.

which it had been levied; at least, give encouragement for advancing new pretensions of a like nature, in hopes of resigning them on like advantageous conditions.

These reasons, joined to so many occasions of ill humour, seemed to sway with the greater number: but to make the matter worse, Sir Harry Vane, the secretary, told the Commons, without any authority from the king, that nothing less than twelve subsidies would be accepted as a compensation for the abolition of ship-money. This assertion, proceeding from the indiscretion, if we are not rather to call it the treachery of Vane, displeased the House, by showing a stiffness and rigidity in the king, which, in a claim so ill-grounded, was deemed inexcusable[i]. We are informed likewise, that some men, who were thought to understand the state of the nation, affirmed in the House, that the amount of twelve subsidies was a greater sum than could be found in all England. Such were the happy ignorance and inexperience of those times with regard to taxes[k]!

The king was in great doubt and perplexity. He saw that his friends in the House were outnumbered by his enemies, and that the same counsels were still prevalent which had ever bred such opposition and disturbance. Instead of hoping that any supply would be granted him to carry on war against the Scots, whom the majority of the House regarded as their best friends and firmest allies; he expected every day that they would present him an address for making peace with those rebels. And if the House met again, a vote, he was informed, would certainly pass, to blast his revenue of ship-money; and thereby renew all the opposition which, with so much difficulty, he had surmounted in levying that taxation. Where great evils lie on all sides, it is difficult to follow the best counsel; nor is it any wonder, that the king, whose capacity was not equal to situations of such extreme delicacy, should hastily have formed and executed the resolution of dissolving this Parliament: a measure, however, of which he soon after repented, and which the subsequent events, more than any convincing reason, inclined every one to condemn. The last Parliament,

Dissolution.

---

[i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 138.

[k] Idem, ibid. p. 136.

CHAP. LIII. 1640.

which ended with such rigour and violence, had yet, at first, covered their intentions with greater appearance of moderation than this Parliament had hitherto assumed.

An abrupt and violent dissolution naturally excites discontents among the people, who usually put entire confidence in their representatives, and expect from them the redress of all grievances. As if there were not already sufficient grounds of complaint, the king persevered still in those counsels, which, from experience, he might have been sensible were so dangerous and unpopular. Bellasis and Sir John Hotham were summoned before the council; and, refusing to give any account of their conduct in Parliament, were committed to prison. All the petitions and complaints, which had been sent to the committee of religion, were demanded from Crew, chairman of that committee, and on his refusal to deliver them, he was sent to the Tower. The studies, and even the pockets, of the Earl of Warwick and Lord Broke, before the expiration of privilege, were searched, in expectation of finding treasonable papers. These acts of authority were interpreted, with some appearance of reason, to be invasions on the right of national assemblies[l]. But the king, after the first provocation which he met with, never sufficiently respected the privileges of Parliament; and by his example, he further confirmed their resolution, when they should acquire power, to pay like disregard to the prerogatives of the crown.

Though the Parliament was dissolved, the convocation was still allowed to sit; a practice, of which, since the reformation, there were but few instances[m], and which was for that reason supposed by many to be irregular. Besides granting to the king a supply from the spirituality, and framing many canons, the convocation, jealous of like innovations with those which had taken place in Scotland, imposed an oath on the clergy, and the graduates in the universities, by which every one swore to maintain the established government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, &c.[n] These steps, in the present discontented humour of the nation, were commonly deemed illegal; because not ratified by consent of Parliament, in whom all authority was now supposed to be centered; and nothing, besides, could afford more subject of ridicule, than an oath, which contained an *et cætera* in the midst of it.

---

[l] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1167. May, p. 61.

[m] There was one in 1586. See History of Archbishop Laud, p. 80. The authority of the convocation was indeed, in most respects, independent of the Parliament, and there was no reason which required the one to be dissolved upon the dissolution of the other.

Discontents in England.

The people, who generally abhorred the convocation as much as they revered the Parliament, could scarcely be restrained from insulting and abusing this assembly; and the king was obliged to give them guards, in order to protect them[o]. An attack too was made during the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above five hundred persons; and he found it necessary to fortify himself for his defence[p]. A multitude, consisting of two thousand sectaries, entered St. Paul's, where the high commission then sat; tore down the benches; and cried out, *No bishop, no high commission*[q]. All these instances of discontent were presages of some great revolution; had the court possessed sufficient skill to discern the danger, or sufficient power to provide against it.

In this disposition of men's minds, it was in vain that the king issued a declaration, in order to convince his people of the necessity, which he lay under, of dissolving the last Parliament[r]. The chief topic, on which he insisted, was, that the Commons imitated the bad example of all their predecessors of late years, in making continual encroachments on his authority, in censuring his whole administration and conduct, in discussing every circumstance of public government, and in their indirect bargaining and contracting with their king for supply; as if nothing ought to be given him but what he should purchase, either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his standing revenue. These practices, he said, were contrary to the maxims of their ancestors; and these practices were totally incompatible with monarchy[s].

The king, disappointed of parliamentary subsidies, was

---

[n] Whitlocke, p. 33.
[o] Idem, ibid.
[p] Dugdale, p. 62. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 143.
[q] Dugdale, p. 65.
[r] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1166.
[s] See note [3 A], at the end of the volume.

1640.

obliged to have recourse to other expedients, in order to supply his urgent necessities. The ecclesiastical subsidies served him in some stead; and it seemed but just, that the clergy should contribute to a war which was in a great measure of their own raising[t]. He borrowed money from his ministers and courtiers; and so much was he beloved among them, that above three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed in a few days: though nothing surely could be more disagreeable to a prince, full of dignity, than to be a burden on his friends, instead of being a support to them. Some attempts were made towards forcing a loan from the citizens; but still repelled by the spirit of liberty, which was now become unconquerable[u]. A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, exposed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct-money for the soldiery was levied on the counties; an ancient practice[w], but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East India Company upon trust, and sold, at a great discount, for ready money[x]. A scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money[y]. Such were the extremities to which Charles was reduced. The fresh difficulties which, amidst the present distresses, were every day raised, with regard to the payment of ship-money, obliged him to exert continual acts of authority, augmented the discontents of the people, and increased his indigence and necessities[z].

The present expedients, however, enabled the king, though with great difficulty, to march his army, consisting of nineteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse[a]. The Earl of Northumberland was appointed general: the Earl of Strafford, who was called over from Ireland, lieutenant-general: Lord Conway, general of the horse. A small fleet was thought sufficient to serve the purposes of this expedition.

So great are the effects of zeal and unanimity, that the Scottish army, though somewhat superior, were sooner

[t] May, p. 48.
[u] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1181.
[w] Idem, vol. i. p. 168.
[x] May, p. 63.
[y] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1216. May, p. 63.
[z] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1173. 1182. 1184. 1199, 1200. 1203, 1204.
[a] Idem, ibid. p. 1279.

ready than the king's; and they marched to the borders of England. To engage them to proceed, besides their general knowledge of the secret discontents of that kingdom, Lord Saville had forged a letter, in the name of six noblemen, the most considerable of England, by which the Scots were invited to assist their neighbours in procuring a redress of grievances [b]. Notwithstanding these warlike preparations and hostile attempts, the covenanters still preserved the most pathetic and most submissive language; and entered England, they said, with no other view than to obtain access to the king's presence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn-upon-Tyne they were opposed by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men, under Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots first entreated them with great civility, not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign, and then attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the rest from their ground. Such a panic seized the whole English army, that the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham; and not yet thinking themselves safe, they deserted that town, and retreated into Yorkshire [c].

20th Aug.

28th Aug. Rout at Newburn.

The Scots took possession of Newcastle; and though sufficiently elated with their victory, they preserved exact discipline, and persevered in their resolution of paying for every thing, in order still to maintain the appearance of an amicable correspondence with England. They also despatched messengers to the king, who was arrived at York; and they took care, after the advantage which they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person: and they even made apologies, full of sorrow and contrition, for their late victory [d].

Charles was in a very distressed condition. The nation was universally and highly discontented. The army was discouraged, and began likewise to be discontented, both from the contagion of general disgust, and as an excuse for their misbehaviour, which they were desirous of representing rather as want of will than of courage to fight.

---

[b] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 427.

[c] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 143.

[d] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1255.

The treasury too was quite exhausted, and every expedient for supply had been tried to the uttermost. No event had happened but what might have been foreseen as necessary, at least as very probable; yet such was the king's situation, that no provision could be made, nor was even any resolution taken against such an exigency.

Treaty at Rippon.

In order to prevent the advance of the Scots upon him, the king agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon. The Earls of Hertford, Bedford, Salisbury, Warwick, Essex, Holland, Bristol, and Berkshire, the Lords Kimbolton, Wharton, Dunsmore, Paget, Broke, Saville, Paulet, and Howard of Escric, were chosen by the king; all of them popular men, and consequently supposed nowise averse to the Scottish invasion, or unacceptable to that nation[e].

An address arrived from the city of London petitioning for a Parliament; the great point to which all men's projects at this time tended[f]. Twelve noblemen presented a petition to the same purpose[g]. But the king contented himself with summoning a great council of the Peers at York; a measure which had formerly been taken in cases of sudden emergency, but which at present could serve to little purpose. Perhaps the king, who dreaded above all things the House of Commons, and who expected no supply from them on any reasonable terms, thought that, in his present distresses, he might be enabled to levy supplies by the authority of the Peers alone. But the employing so long the plea of a necessity which appeared distant and doubtful, rendered it impossible for him to avail himself of a necessity which was now at last become real, urgent, and inevitable.

By Northumberland's sickness the command of the army had devolved on Strafford. This nobleman possessed more vigour of mind than the king or any of the council. He advised Charles rather to put all to hazard, than submit to such unworthy terms as were likely to be imposed upon him. The loss sustained at Newburn, he said, was inconsiderable; and though a panic had for a time seized the army, that event was nothing strange among new levied troops; and the Scots being in the same condition, would, no doubt, be liable in their turn to a like accident. His opinion therefore was, that the king should push forward, and attack the Scots, and bring the affair to a quick decision; and if he were ever so unsuccessful, nothing worse could befal him, than what, from his inactivity, he would certainly be exposed to[h]. To show how easy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an assault to be made on some quarters of the Scots, and he gained an advantage over them. No cessation of arms had as yet been agreed to during the treaty at Rippon; yet great clamour prevailed on account of this act of hostility; and when it was known that the officer who conducted the attack was a papist, a violent outcry was raised against the king for employing that hated sect in the murder of his protestant subjects[i].

---

[e] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 155.

[f] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1263.

[g] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 146. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1260. May, p. 66. Warwick, p. 151.

It may be worthy of remark, that several mutinies had arisen among the English troops when marching to join the army; and some officers had been murdered merely on suspicion of their being papists[k]. The petition of right had abolished all martial law; and by an inconvenience which naturally attended the plan, as yet new and unformed, of regular and rigid liberty, it was found absolutely impossible for the generals to govern the army by all the authority which the king could legally confer upon them. The lawyers had declared, that martial law could not be exercised except in the presence of an enemy; and because it had been found necessary to execute a mutineer, the generals thought it advisable, for their own safety, to apply for a pardon from the crown. This weakness, however, was carefully concealed from the army, and Lord Conway said, that if any lawyer were so imprudent as to discover the secret to the soldiers, it would be necessary instantly to refute him, and to hang the lawyer himself by sentence of a court martial[l].

An army new levied, undisciplined, frightened, seditious, ill paid, and governed by no proper authority, was very unfit for withstanding a victorious and high-spirited enemy, and retaining in subjection a discontented and zealous nation.

---

[h] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 5.

[i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 159.

[k] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1190, 1191, 1192, &c. May, p. 64.

[l] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1199.

1640. 24th Sept. Great council of the Peers.

Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last determined to yield to it; and as he foresaw that the great council of the Peers would advise him to call a Parliament, he told them in his first speech, that he had already taken this resolution. He informed them likewise, that the queen, in a letter which she had written to him, had very earnestly recommended that measure. This good prince, who was extremely attached to his consort, and who passionately wished to render her popular in the nation, forgot not, amidst all his distress, the interest of his domestic tenderness[m].

In order to subsist both armies (for the king was obliged, in order to save the northern counties, to pay his enemies) Charles wrote to the city, desiring a loan of two hundred thousand pounds. And the Peers at York, whose authority was now much greater than that of their sovereign, joined in the same request[n]. So low was this prince already fallen in the eyes of his own subjects!

As many difficulties occurred in the negotiation with the Scots, it was proposed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London; a proposal willingly embraced by that nation, who were now sure of treating with advantage, in a place where the king, they foresaw, would be in a manner a prisoner in the midst of his implacable enemies and their determined friends[o].

---

[m] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 154. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1275.

[n] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1279.

[o] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 1305.

NOTES.

NOTE [A], p. 12.

That the queen's negotiations for marrying the Duke of Anjou were not feigned nor political, appears clearly from many circumstances; particularly from a passage in Dr. Forbes's manuscript collections, at present in the possession of Lord Royston. She there enjoins Walsingham, before he opens the treaty, to examine the person of the duke ; and as that prince had lately recovered from the small-pox, she desires her ambassador to consider whether he yet retained so much of his good looks as that a woman could fix her affections on him. Had she not been in earnest, and had she only meant to amuse the public, or the court of France, this circumstance was of no moment.

NOTE [B], p. 30.

D'Ewes, p. 328. The puritanical sect had indeed gone so far, that a book of discipline was secretly subscribed by above five hundred clergymen ; and the presbyterian government thereby established in the midst of the church notwithstanding the rigour of the prelates and of the high commission. So impossible is it by penal statutes, however severe, to suppress all religious innovation. See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. 483. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 291.

NOTE [C], p. 32.

This year, the Earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before, had been engaged in a conspiracy with Lord Paget for the deliverance of the Queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower ; and being conscious that his guilt could be proved upon him, at least, that sentence would infallibly be pronounced against him, he freed himself from farther prosecution by a voluntary death. He shot himself in the breast with a pistol. About the same time the Earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, having entered into some exceptionable measures, and reflecting on the unhappy fate which had attended his family, endeavoured to depart secretly beyond sea, but was discovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1587, this nobleman was brought to his trial for high treason ; chiefly because he had dropped some expressions of affection to the Spaniards, and had affirmed that he would have masses said for the success of the Armada. His Peers found him guilty of treason : this severe sentence was not executed ; but Arundel never recovered his liberty. He died a prisoner in 1595. He carried his religious austerities so far, that they were believed the immediate cause of his death.

NOTE [D], p. 44.

Mary's extreme animosity against Elizabeth may easily be conceived, and it broke out about this time in an incident which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in custody by the Earl of Shrewsbury, she lived during a long time in great intimacy with the countess ; but that lady entertaining a jealousy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendship was converted into enmity ; and Mary took a method of revenge, which at once gratified her spite against the countess and that against Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen, informing her of all the malicious scandalous stories which, she said, the Countess of Shrewsbury had reported of her: that Elizabeth had given a promise of marriage to a certain person, whom she afterwards often admitted to her bed: that she had been equally indulgent to Simier the French agent, and to the Duke of Anjou: that Hatton was also one of her paramours, who was even disgusted with her excessive love and fondness: that though she was, on other occasions, avaricious to the last degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, she spared no expense in gratifying her amorous passions: that notwithstanding her licentious amours, she was not made like other women; and all those who courted her marriage would in the end be disappointed: that she was so conceited of her beauty as to swallow the most extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on these occasions, forbear even sneering at her for her folly: that it was usual for them to tell her, that the lustre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the sun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye. She added, that the countess had said, that Mary's best policy would be to engage her son to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that such a proposal would be taken for mockery; so ridiculous was the opinion which she had entertained of her own charms. She pretended that the countess had represented her as no less odious in her temper than profligate in her manners, and absurd in her vanity: that she had so beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore, as to break that lady's finger; and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candlestick: that she had cut another across the hand with a knife, who had been so unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the countess had informed her, that Elizabeth had suborned Rolstone to pretend friendship to her, in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival. See Murden's State Papers, p. 558. This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conspiracy; and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings against her the more rigorous. How far all these imputations against Elizabeth can be credited may perhaps appear doubtful: but her extreme fondness for Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious passages between her and Admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chastity very much to be suspected. Her self-conceit with regard to beauty we know from other undoubted authority to have been extravagant. Even when she was a very old woman, she allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her *excellent beauties*. Birch, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. Her passionate temper may also be proved from many lively instances; and it was not unusual with her to beat her maids of honour. See the Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 38. The blow she gave to Essex before the privy council is another instance. There remains in the Museum a letter of the Earl of Huntingdon's, in which he complains grievously of the queen's pinching his wife very sorely on account of some quarrel between them. Had this princess been born in a private station, she would not have been very amiable: but her absolute authority, at the same time that it gave an uncontrolling swing to her violent passions, enabled her to compensate her infirmities by many great and signal virtues.

NOTE [E], p. 55.

Camden, p. 525. This evidence was that of Curle, her secretary, whom she allowed to be a very honest man; and who, as well as Nau, had given proofs of his integrity, by keeping so long such important secrets, from whose discovery he could have reaped the greatest profit. Mary, after all, thought that she had so little reason to complain of Curle's evidence, that she took care to have him paid a considerable sum by her will, which she wrote the day before her death. Goodall, vol. i. p. 413. Neither did she forget Nau, though less satisfied in other respects with his conduct. Idem, ibid.

NOTE [F], p. 55.

The detail of this conspiracy is to be found in a letter of the Queen of Scots to Charles Paget, her great confidant. This letter is dated the 20th of May, 1586, and is contained in Dr. Forbes's manuscript collections, at present in the possession of Lord Royston. It is a copy attested by Curle, Mary's secretary, and endorsed by Lord Burleigh. What proves its authenticity beyond question is, that we find in Murden's collection, p. 516, that Mary actually wrote that very day a letter to Charles Paget: and farther, she mentions, in the manuscript letter, a letter of Charles Paget's of the 10th of April. Now, we find by Murden, p. 506, that Charles Paget did actually write her a letter of that date.

This violence of spirit is very consistent with Mary's character. Her maternal affection was too weak to oppose the gratification of her passions, particularly her pride, her ambition, and her bigotry. Her son, having made some fruitless attempts to associate her with him in the title, and having found the scheme impracticable on account of the prejudices of his protestant subjects, at last desisted from that design, and entered into an alliance with England, without comprehending his mother. She was in such a rage at this undutiful behaviour, as she imagined it, that she wrote to Queen Elizabeth, that she no longer cared what became of him or herself in the world; the greatest satisfaction she could have before her death was, to see him and all his adherents become a signal example of tyranny, ingratitude, and impiety, and undergo the vengeance of God for their wickedness. She would find in Christendom other heirs, and doubted not to put her inheritance in such hands as would retain the firmest hold of it. She cared not, after taking this revenge, what became of her body; the quickest death would then be the most agreeable to her. And she assured her that, if he persevered, she would disown him for her son, would give him her malediction, would disinherit him, as well of his present possessions as of all he could expect by her; abandoning him not only to her subjects to treat him as they had done her, but to all strangers to subdue and conquer him. It was in vain to employ menaces against her: the fear of death or other misfortune would never induce her to make one step, or pronounce one syllable, beyond what she had determined: she would rather perish with honour, in maintaining the dignity to which God had raised her, than degrade herself by the least pusillanimity, or act what was unworthy of her station and of her race. Murden, p. 566, 567.

James said to Courcelles, the French ambassador, that he had seen a letter under her own hand, in which she threatened to disinherit him, and said that he might betake him to the lordship of Darnley; for that was all he had by his father. *Courcelles' Letter, a MS. of Dr. Campbell's.* There is in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 573, a letter of hers, where she throws out the same menace against him.

We find this scheme of seizing the King of Scots, and delivering him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain, proposed by Morgan to Mary. See Murden, p. 525. A mother must be very violent to whom one would dare to make such a proposal: but it seems she assented to it. Was not such a woman very capable of murdering her husband, who had so grievously offended her?

NOTE [G], p. 56.

The volume of State Papers, collected by Murden, prove, beyond controversy, that Mary was long in close correspondence with Babington, p. 513. 516. 532, 533. She entertained a like correspondence with Ballard, Morgan, and Charles Paget, and laid a scheme with them for an insurrection, and for the invasion of England by Spain, p. 528. 531. The same papers show, that there had been a discontinuance of Babington's correspondence, agreeably to Camden's narration. See State Papers, p. 513, where Morgan recommends it to Queen Mary to renew her correspondence with Babington. These circumstances prove, that no weight can be laid on Mary's denial of guilt, and that her correspondence with Babington contained particulars which could not be avowed.

NOTE [H], p. 56.

There are three suppositions by which the letter to Babington may be accounted for without allowing Mary's concurrence in the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth. The first is, that which she seems herself to have embraced, that her secretaries had received Babington's letter, and had, without any treacherous intention, ventured of themselves to answer it, and had never communicated the matter to her: but it is utterly improbable, if not impossible, that a princess of so much sense and spirit should, in an affair of that importance, be so treated by her servants who lived in the house with her, and who had every moment an opportunity of communicating the secret to her. If the conspiracy failed, they must expect to suffer the severest punishment from the court of England; if it succeeded, the lightest punishment which they could hope for from their own mistress must be disgrace on account of their temerity. Not to mention, that Mary's concurrence was, in some degree, requisite for effecting the design of her escape ; it was proposed to attack her guards while she was employed in hunting : she must therefore concert the time and place with the conspirators. The second supposition is, that these two secretaries were previously traitors ; and, being gained by Walsingham, had made such a reply in their mistress's cipher as might involve her in the guilt of the conspiracy. But these two men had lived long with the Queen of Scots, had been entirely trusted by her, and had never fallen under suspicion either with her or her partisans. Camden informs us, that Curle afterwards claimed a reward from Walsingham, on pretence of some promise ; but Walsingham told him, that he owed him no reward, and that he had made no discoveries on his examination which were not known with certainty from other quarters. The third supposition is, that neither the queen nor the two secretaries, Nau and Curle, ever saw Babington's letter, or made any answer ; but that Walsingham, having deciphered the former, forged a reply. But this supposition implies the falsehood of the whole story, told by Camden, of Gifford's access to the Queen of Scots' family, and Paulet's refusal to concur in allowing her servants to be bribed. Not to mention, that as Nau's and Curle's evidence must, on this supposition, have been extorted by violence and terror, they would necessarily have been engaged, for their own justification, to have told the truth afterwards ; especially upon the accession of James. But Camden informs us, that Nau, even after that event, persisted still in his testimony.

We must also consider, that the two last suppositions imply such a monstrous criminal conduct in Walsingham, and consequently in Elizabeth, (for the matter could be no secret to her,) as exceeds all credibility. If we consider the situation of things and the prejudices of the times, Mary's consent to Babington's conspiracy appears much more natural and probable. She believed Elizabeth to be an usurper and a heretic : she regarded her as a personal and violent enemy : she knew that schemes for assassinating heretics were very familiar in that age, and generally approved of by the court of Rome and the zealous Catholics. Her own liberty and sovereignty were connected with the success of this enterprise : and it cannot appear strange, that where men of so much merit as Babington could be engaged, by bigotry alone, in so criminal an enterprise, Mary, who was actuated by the same motive, joined to so many others, should have given her consent to a scheme projected by her friends. We may be previously certain, that if such a scheme was ever communicated to her, with any probability of success, she would assent to it, and it served the purpose of Walsingham and the English ministry to facilitate the communication of these schemes, as soon as they had gotten an expedient for intercepting her answer, and detecting the conspiracy. Now Walsingham's knowledge of the matter is a supposition necessary to account for the letter delivered to Babington.

As to the not punishing of Nau and Curle by Elizabeth, it never is the practice to punish lesser criminals, who had given evidence against the principal.

But what ought to induce us to reject these three suppositions is, that they must, all of them, be considered as bare possibilities. The partisans of Mary can give no reason for preferring one to the other : not the slightest evidence ever appeared to support any one of them. Neither at that time, nor at any time afterwards, was any reason discovered by the numerous zealots at home and abroad, who had embraced Mary's defence, to lead us to the belief of any of these three suppositions ; and even her apologists at present seem not to have fixed on any choice among these supposed possibilities. The positive proof of two very credible witnesses, supported by the other very strong circumstances, still remains unimpeached. Babington, who had an extreme interest to have communication with the Queen of Scots, believed he had found a means of correspondence with her, and had received an answer from her : he, as well as the other conspirators, died in that belief. There has not occurred, since that time, the least argument to prove that they were mistaken : can there be any reason, at present, to doubt the truth of their opinion ? Camden, though a professed apologist for Mary, is constrained to tell the story in such a manner as evidently supposes her guilt. Such was the impossibility of finding any other consistent account, even by a man of parts, who was a contemporary !

In this light might the question have appeared, even during Mary's trial. But what now puts her guilt beyond all controversy, is the following passage of her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th of July, 1586. "As to Babington, he hath both kindly and honestly offered himself and all his means to be employed any way I would: whereupon I hope to have satisfied him by two of my several letters since I had his; and the rather for that I opened him the way, whereby I received his with your aforesaid." Murden, p. 533. Babington confessed, that he had offered her to assassinate the queen: it appears by this that she had accepted the offer: so that all the suppositions of Walsingham's forgery, or the temerity or treachery of her secretaries, fall to the ground.

NOTE [I], p. 60.

This Parliament granted the queen a supply of a subsidy and two fifteenths. They adjourned, and met again after the execution of the Queen of Scots; when there passed some remarkable incidents, which it may be proper not to omit. We shall give them in the words of Sir Simon D'Ewes, p. 410, 411, which are almost wholly transcribed from Townshend's Journal. On Monday the 27th of February, Mr. Cope, first using some speeches touching the necessity of a learned ministry, and the amendment of things amiss in the ecclesiastical estate, offered to the House a bill and a book written; the bill containing a petition, that it might be enacted, that all laws now in force touching ecclesiastical government should be void; and that it might be enacted, that that book of common prayer now offered, and none other, might be received into the church to be used. The book contained the form of prayer and administration of the sacraments with divers rites and ceremonies to be used in the church; and he desired that the book might be read. Whereupon Mr. Speaker in effect used this speech: For that her majesty before this time had commanded the House not to meddle with this matter, and that her majesty had promised to take order in those causes, he doubted not but to the good satisfaction of all her people, he desired that it would please them to spare the reading of it. Notwithstanding, the House desired the reading of it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker desired the clerk to read. And the clerk being ready to read it, Mr. Dalton made a motion against the reading of it; saying, that it was not meet to be read, and it did appoint a new form of administration of the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, to the discredit of the book of common prayer, and of the whole state; and thought that this dealing would bring her majesty's indignation against the House, thus to enterprise this dealing with those things which her majesty especially had taken into her own charge and direction. Whereupon Mr. Lewkenor spake, showing the necessity of preaching and of a learned ministry, and thought it very fit that the petition and book should be read. To this purpose spake Mr. Hurleston and Mr. Bainbrigg; and so the time being passed, the House broke up, and neither the petition nor book read. This done, her majesty sent to Mr. Speaker, as well for this petition and book, as for that other petition and book for the like effect, that was delivered the last session of Parliament, which Mr. Speaker sent to her majesty. On Tuesday, the 28th of February, her majesty sent for Mr. Speaker, by occasion whereof the House did not sit. On Wednesday, the first day of March, Mr. Wentworth delivered to Mr. Speaker certain articles, which contained questions touching the liberties of the House, and to some of which he was to answer, and desired they might be read. Mr. Speaker desired him to spare his motion, until her majesty's pleasure was farther known touching the petition and book lately delivered into the House: but Mr. Wentworth would not be so satisfied, but required his articles might be read. Mr. Wentworth introduced his queries by lamenting, that he as well as many others were deterred from speaking by their want of knowledge and experience in the liberties of the House; and the queries were as follow: Whether this council were not a place for any member of the same here assembled, freely and without controlment of any person or danger of laws, by bill or speech to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth, whatsoever, touching the service of God, the safety of the prince and his noble realm? Whether that great honour may be done unto God, and benefit and service unto the prince and state, without free speech in this council, that may be done with it? Whether there be any council which can make, add, or diminish from the laws of the realm, but only this council of Parliament? Whether it be not against the orders of this council to make any secret or matter of weight, which is here in hand, known to the prince or any other, concerning the high service of God, prince, or state, without the consent of the House? Whether the speaker or any other may interrupt any member of this council in his speech used in this House tending to any of the forenamed services? Whether the speaker may rise when he will, any matter being propounded, without consent of the House or not? Whether the speaker may overrule the House in any matter or cause there in question, or whether he is to be ruled or overruled in any matter or not? Whether the prince and state can continue, and stand, and be maintained, without this council of Parliament, not altering the government of the state? At the end of these questions, says Sir Simon D'Ewes, I found set down this short note or memorial ensuing: By which it may be perceived, both what Sergeant Puckering, the speaker, did with the said questions after he had received them, and what became also of this business, viz.: "These questions Mr. Puckering pocketed up and showed Sir Thomas Henage, who so handled the matter that Mr. Wentworth went to the Tower, and the questions not at all moved. Mr. Buckler of Essex herein brake his faith in forsaking the matter, &c., and no more was done." After setting down, continues Sir Simon D'Ewes, the said business of Mr. Wentworth in the original journal book, there follows only this short conclusion of the day itself, viz.: "This day, Mr. Speaker being sent for to the queen's majesty, the House departed." On Thursday, the second of March, Mr. Cope, Mr. Lewkenor, Mr. Hurleston, and Mr. Bainbrigg, were sent for to my lord chancellor, and by divers of the privy council, and from thence were sent to the Tower. On Saturday, the fourth day of March, Sir John Higham made a motion to this House, for that divers good and necessary members thereof were taken from them, that it would please them to be humble petitioners to her majesty for the restitution of them again to this House. To which speeches Mr. Vice-chamberlain answered, that if the gentlemen were committed for matter within the compass of the privilege of the House, then there might be a petition; but if not, then we should give occasion to her majesty's farther displeasure; and therefore advised to stay until they heard more, which could not be long: and farther he said, touching the book and the petition, her majesty had, for divers good causes best known to herself, thought fit to suppress the same without any farther examination thereof; and yet thought it very unfit for her majesty to give any account of her doings.—But, whatsoever Mr. Vice-chamberlain pretended, it is most probable these members were committed for intermeddling with matters touching the church, which her majesty had often inhibited, and which had caused so much disputation and so many meetings between the two Houses the last Parliament.

This is all we find of the matter in Sir Simon D'Ewes and Townshend; and it appears that those members who had been committed were detained in custody till the queen thought proper to release them. These questions of Mr. Wentworth are curious; because they contain some faint dawn of the present English constitution; though suddenly eclipsed by the arbitrary government of Elizabeth. Wentworth was indeed, by his puritanism, as well as his love of liberty, (for these two characters of such unequal merit arose and advanced together,) the true forerunner of the Hambdens, the Pyms, and the Hollises, who, in the next age, with less courage, because with less danger, rendered their principles so triumphant. I shall only ask, whether it be not sufficiently clear from all these transactions, that in the two succeeding reigns it was the people who encroached upon the sovereign; not the sovereign who attempted, as is pretended, to usurp upon the people?

NOTE [K], p. 91.

The queen's speech in the camp of Tilbury was in these words: My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms: I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

NOTE [L], p. 96.

Strype, vol. iii. p. 525. On the fourth of September, soon after the dispersion of the Spanish armada, died the Earl of Leicester, the queen's great, but unworthy, favourite. Her affection for him continued till the last. He had discovered no conduct in any of his military enterprises, and was suspected of cowardice; yet she intrusted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spanish invasion; a partiality which might have proved fatal to her, had the Duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England. She had even ordered a commission to be drawn for him, constituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton represented to her the danger of intrusting such unlimited authority in the hands of any subject, and prevented the execution of that design. No wonder that a conduct, so unlike the usual jealousy of Elizabeth, gave reason to suspect that her partiality was founded on some other passion than friendship. But Elizabeth seemed to carry her affection to Leicester no farther than the grave: she ordered his goods to be disposed of at a public sale, in order to reimburse herself of some debt which he owed her; and her usual attention to money was observed to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceased. The earl was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the strictest religion, an encourager of the puritans, and a founder of hospitals.

NOTE [M], p. 96.

Strype, vol. iii. p. 542. Id. Append. p. 239. There are some singular passages in this last speech, which may be worth taking notice of; especially as they came from a member who was no courtier; for he argues against the subsidy: "And first," says he, "for the *necessity* thereof, I cannot deny; but if it were a charge imposed upon us by her majesty's commandment, or a demand proceeding from her majesty by way of request, that I think there is not one among us all, either so disobedient a subject in regard of our duty, or so unthankful a man in respect of the inestimable benefits which, by her, or from her, we have received, which would not with frank consent, both of voice and heart, most willingly submit himself thereunto, without any unreverend inquiry into the causes thereof; for it is continually in the mouth of us all, that our lands, goods, and lives are at our prince's disposing. And it agreeth very well with that position of the civil law, which sayeth, *Quod omnia regis sunt.* But how? *Ita tamen ut omnium sint. Ad regem enim potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos proprietas.* So that although it be most true that her majesty hath over ourselves and our goods *potestatem imperandi;* yet it is true that until that power command, (which, no doubt, will not command without very just cause,) every subject hath his own *proprietatem possidendi.* Which power and commandment from her majesty, which we have not yet received, I take it (saving reformation) that we are freed from the cause of *necessity.* And the cause of necessity is the dangerous estate of the commonwealth," &c. The tenor of the speech pleads rather for a general benevolence than a subsidy; for the law of Richard III. against benevolence was never conceived to have any force. The member even proceeds to assert with some precaution, that it was in the power of Parliament to refuse the king's demand of a subsidy; and that there was an instance of that liberty in Henry III.'s time, near four hundred years before. *Sub fine.*

NOTE [N], p. 98.

We may judge of the extent and importance of these abuses by a speech of Bacon's against purveyors, delivered in the first session of the first Parliament of the subsequent reign, by which also we may learn, that Elizabeth had given no redress to the grievances complained of. "First," says he, "they take in kind what they ought not to take; secondly, they take in quantity a far greater proportion than cometh to your majesty's use; thirdly, they take in an unlawful manner, in a manner, I say, directly and expressly prohibited by the several laws. For the first, I am a little to alter their name; for instead of takers they become taxers: instead of taking provisions for your majesty's service, they tax your people *ad redimendam vexationem;* imposing upon them and extorting from them divers sums of money, sometimes in gross, sometimes in the nature of stipends annually paid, *ne noceant,* to be freed and eased of their oppression. Again, they take trees, which by law they cannot do; timber trees, which are the beauty, countenance, and shelter of men's houses; that men have long spared from their own purse and profit; that men esteem for their use and delight, above ten times the value; that are a loss which men cannot repair or recover. These do they take, to the defacing and spoiling of your subjects' mansions and dwellings, except they may be compounded with to their own appetites. And if a gentleman be too hard for them while he is at home, they will watch their time when there is but a bailiff or a servant remaining, and put the axe to the root of the tree, ere ever the master can stop it. Again, they use a strange and most unjust exaction in causing the subjects to pay poundage of their own debts, due from your majesty unto them; so as a poor man when he has had his hay, or his wood, or his poultry, (which perchance he was full loath to part with, and had for the provision of his own family, and not to put to sale,) taken from him, and that not at a just price, but under the value, and cometh to receive his money, he shall have after the rate of twelve-pence in the pound abated for poundage of his due payment upon so hard conditions. Nay, farther, they are grown to that extremity, (as is affirmed, though it be scarce credible, save that in such persons all things are credible,) that they will take double poundage, once when the debenture is made, and again the second time when the money is paid. For the second point, most gracious sovereign, touching the quantity which they take far above that which is answered to your majesty's use; it is affirmed unto me by divers gentlemen of good report, as a matter which I may safely avouch unto your majesty, that there is no pound profit which redoundeth unto your majesty in this course, but induceth and begetteth three pound damage upon your subjects, besides the discontentment. And to the end they may make their spoil more securely, what do they? Whereas divers statutes do strictly provide, that whatsoever they take shall be registered and attested, to the end that by making a collation of that which is taken from the country, and that which is answered above, their deceits might appear, they, to the end to obscure their deceits, utterly omit the observation of this, which the law prescribeth. And therefore to descend, if it may please your majesty, to the third sort of abuse, which is of the unlawful manner of their taking, whereof this question is a branch; it is so manifold, as it rather asketh an enumeration of some of the particulars than a prosecution of all. For their price, by law they ought to take as they can agree with the subject; by abuse, they take at an imposed and enforced price: by law, they ought to make but one appraisement by neighbours in the country; by abuse, they make a second appraisement at the court gate; and when the subjects' cattle come up many miles, lean and out of plight by reason of their travel, then they prize them anew at an abated price: by law, they ought to take between sun and sun; by abuse, they take by twilight and in the night-time, a time well chosen for malefactors: by law, they ought not to take in the highways; (a place by her majesty's high prerogative protected, and by statute by special words excepted;) by abuse, they take in the highways: by law, they ought to show their commission, &c. A number of other particulars there are," &c.—Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 305, 306.

Such were the abuses which Elizabeth would neither permit her Parliaments to meddle with, nor redress herself. I believe it will readily be allowed, that this slight prerogative alone, which has passed almost unobserved amidst other branches of so much greater importance, was sufficient to extinguish all regular liberty. For what elector, or member of Parliament, or even juryman, durst oppose the will of the court, while he lay under the lash of such an arbitrary prerogative? For a farther account of the grievous and incredible oppressions of purveyors, see the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 190. There is a story of a carter, which may be worth mentioning on this occasion. "A carter had three times been at Windsor with his cart to carry away, upon summons of a remove, some part of the stuff of her majesty's wardrobe; and when he had repaired thither once, twice, and the third time, and that they of the wardrobe had told him the third time that the remove held not, the carter, clapping his hand on his thigh, said, *Now I see that the queen is a woman as well as my wife.* Which words being overheard by her majesty, who then stood at the window, she said, *What a villain is this!* and so sent him three angels to stop his mouth."—Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 155.

NOTE [O], p. 108.

This year the nation suffered a great loss, by the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state ; a man equally celebrated for his abilities and his integrity. He had passed through many employments, had been very frugal in his expense, yet died so poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, first married to Sir Philip Sidney, then to the Earl of Essex, favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and lastly to the Earl of Clanricarde of Ireland. The same year died Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the Queen in several embassies to Scotland ; as did also the Earl of Warwick, elder brother to Leicester.

NOTE [P], p. 110.

This action of Sir Richard Grenville is so singular as to merit a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail, which had ten thousand men on board ; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulsed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. In the beginning of the action he himself received a wound ; but he continued doing his duty above deck till eleven at night, when, receiving a fresh wound, he was carried down to be dressed. During this operation he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon was killed by his side. The English began now to want powder ; all their small arms were broken or become useless ; of their number, which were but a hundred and three at first, forty were killed, and almost all the rest wounded ; their masts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this situation Sir Richard proposed to the ship's company, to trust to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to destroy the ship with themselves, rather than yield to the enemy. The master gunner, and many of the seamen, agreed to this desperate resolution ; but others opposed it, and obliged Grenville to surrender himself prisoner. He died a few days after ; and his last words were : "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind : for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour. My soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do." The Spaniards lost in this sharp, though unequal action, four ships, and about a thousand men. And Grenville's vessel perished soon after with two hundred Spaniards in her.—Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. part 2. p. 169. Camden, p. 565.

NOTE [Q], p. 129.

It is usual for the speaker to disqualify himself for the office ; but the reasons employed by this speaker are so singular, that they may be worth transcribing. "My estate," said he, "is nothing correspondent for the maintenance of this dignity ; for my father, dying, left me a younger brother, and nothing to me but my bare annuity. Then, growing to man's estate, and some small practice of the law, I took a wife, by whom I have had many children ; the keeping of us all being a great impoverishing to my estate, and the daily living of us all nothing but my daily industry. Neither from my person nor my nature doth this choice arise : for he that supplieth this place ought to be a man big and comely, stately and well spoken, his voice great, his carriage majestical, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy : but, contrarily, the stature of my body is small, myself not so well spoken, my voice low, my carriage lawyer-like, and of the common fashion, my nature soft and bashful, my purse thin, light, and never yet plentiful. —If Demosthenes, being so learned and eloquent as he was, one whom none surpassed, trembled to speak before Phocion at Athens ; how much more shall I, being unlearned and unskilful to supply the place of dignity, charge, and trouble, to speak before so many Phocions as here be? Yea, which is the greatest, before the unspeakable majesty and sacred personage of our dread and dear sovereign : the terror of whose countenance will appal and abase even the stoutest hearts ; yea, whose very name will pull down the greatest courage : for how mightily do the estate and name of a prince deject the haughtiest stomach even of their greatest subjects !"—D'Ewes, p. 459.

NOTE [R], p. 135.

Cabbala, p. 234. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 386. Speed, p. 877. The whole letter of Essex is so curious and so spirited, that the reader may not be displeased to read it. "My very good lord; though there is not that man this day living, whom I would sooner make judge of any question that might concern me than yourself, yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly judges; and if any, then surely in this, when the highest judge on earth has imposed on me the heaviest punishment, without trial or hearing. Since then I must either answer your lordship's argument, or else forsake mine own just defence, I will force mine aching head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontent, which was forced to be a humorous discontent; and that it was unseasonable, or is of so long continuing, your lordship should rather condole with me than expostulate. Natural seasons are expected here below; but violent and unseasonable storms come from above. There is no tempest equal to the passionate indignation of a prince; nor yet at any time so unreasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect a harvest of their careful and painful labours. He that is once wounded must needs feel smart till his hurt is cured, or the part hurt become senseless: but cure I expect none, her majesty's heart being obdurate against me; and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But, say you, I may aim at the end: I do more than aim; for I see an end of all my fortunes, I have set an end to all my desires. In this course do I any thing for my enemies? When I was at court, I found them absolute; and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I could yield them no fruit of my love unto them; and now that I am a hermit, they shall bear no envy for their love towards me. Or do I forsake myself, because I do enjoy myself? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I ruinate my honour, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false badge or mark of the shadow of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the foreign foe, because I reserve myself to encounter with him? Or because I keep my heart from business, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, my good lord, I give every one of these considerations its due weight; and the more I weigh them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my country when it hath most need of me, and fail in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my sovereign; I answer that if my country had at this time any need of my public service, her majesty, that governeth it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my country by two bonds; one public, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcase, which hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed, discharged, and disabled by her majesty: of the other, nothing can free me but death; and therefore no occasion of my performance shall sooner offer itself, but I shall meet it halfway. The indissoluble duty which I owe unto her majesty is only the duty of allegiance, which I never have nor never can fail in: the duty of attendance is no indissoluble duty. I owe her majesty the duty of an earl, and of lord marshal of England. I have been content to do her majesty the service of a clerk; but I can never serve her as a villain or slave. But yet you say I must give way unto the time. So I do: for now that I see the storm come, I have put myself into the harbour. Seneca saith, we must give way to fortune: I know that fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of her way. You say the remedy is not to strive: I neither strive nor seek for remedy. But you say I must yield and submit; I can neither yield myself to be guilty, nor allow the imputation laid upon me to be just: I owe so much to the Author of all truth, as I can never yield truth to be falsehood, nor falsehood to be truth. Have I given cause, you ask; and yet take a scandal when I have done? No: I gave no cause, not so much as Fimbria's complaint against me; for I did *totum telum corpore recipere,* receive the whole sword into my body. I patiently bear all, and sensibly feel all that I then received, when this scandal was given me. Nay more, when the vilest of all indignities are done unto me," &c. This noble letter, Bacon afterwards, in pleading against Essex, called bold and presumptuous, and derogatory to her majesty. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 388.

NOTE [S], p. 158.

Most of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers feigned love and desire towards her, and addressed themselves to her in the style of passion and gallantry. Sir Walter Raleigh having fallen into disgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend, Sir Robert Cecil, with a view, no doubt, of having it shown to the queen. "My heart was never broke till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years, with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less; but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all. O glory, that only shineth in misfortune! what is become of thy assurance? All wounds have scars, but that of fantasy; all affections their relenting, but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friendship, but adversity, or when is grace witnessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by reason of compassion; for revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, cannot they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hid in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *Spes et fortuna, valete*. She is gone in whom I trusted; and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that which was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list. I am more weary of life than they are desirous I should perish; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born." Murden, 657.

It is to be remarked that this nymph, Venus, goddess, angel, was then about sixty. Yet, five or six years after, she allowed the same language to be held to her. Sir Henry Unton, her ambassador in France, relates to her a conversation which he had with Henry IV. That monarch, after having introduced Unton to his mistress, the fair Gabrielle, asked him how he liked her? "I answered sparingly in her praise," said the minister; "and told him, that if, without offence, I might speak it, I had the picture of a far more excellent mistress, and yet did her picture come far short of her perfection of beauty. As you love me, (said he,) show it me, if you have it about you. I made some difficulties; yet, upon his importunity, offered it to his view very secretly, holding it still in my hand. He beheld it with passion and admiration, saying that I had reason, *Je me rends*, protesting that he had never seen the like; so with great reverence he kissed it twice or thrice, I detaining it still in my hand. In the end, with some kind of contention, he took it from me, vowing that I might take my leave of it, for he would not forego it for any treasure; and that to possess the favour of the lovely picture, he would forsake all the world and hold himself most happy; with many other most passionate speeches." Murden, p. 718. For farther particulars on this head, see the ingenious author of the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, article Essex.

NOTE [T], p. 176.

It may not be amiss to subjoin some passages of these speeches; which may serve to give us a just idea of the government of that age, and of the political principles which prevailed during the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Laurence Hyde proposed a bill, entitled, An Act for the explanation of the Common Law in certain Cases of Letters Patent. Mr. Spicer said, This bill may touch the prerogative royal, which, as I learned the last Parliament, is so transcendent, that the———of the subject may not aspire thereunto. Far be it therefore from me, that the state and prerogative royal of the prince should be tied by me, or by the act of any other subject. Mr. Francis Bacon said, As to the prerogative royal of the prince, for my own part, I ever allowed of it; and it is such as I hope will never be discussed. The queen, as she is our sovereign, hath both an enlarging and restraining power. For by her prerogative she may set at liberty things restrained by statute law or otherwise; and secondly, by her prerogative, she may restrain things which be at liberty. For the first, she may grant a *non obstante* contrary to the penal laws.—With regard to monopolies, and such like cases, the case hath ever been to humble ourselves unto her majesty, and by petition desire to have our grievances remedied, especially when the remedy touched her so nigh in point of prerogative.—I say, and I say it again, that we ought not to deal, to judge, or meddle with her majesty's prerogative. I wish, therefore, every man to be careful of this business. Dr. Bennet said, He that goeth about to debate her majesty's prerogative had need to walk warily. Mr. Laurence Hyde said, For the bill itself, I made it, and I think I understand it; and far be it from this heart of mine to think, this tongue to speak, or this hand to write, any thing either in prejudice or derogation of her majesty's prerogative royal and the state.—Mr. Speaker, quoth Sergeant Harris, for aught I see, the House moveth to have this bill in the nature of a petition; it must then begin with more humiliation. And truly, sir, the bill is good of itself, but the penning of it is somewhat out of course. Mr. Montague said, The matter is good and honest, and I like this manner of proceeding by bill well enough in this matter. The grievances are great, and I would note only unto you thus much, that the last Parliament we proceeded by way of petition, which had no successful effect. Mr. Francis More said, I know the queen's prerogative is a thing curious to be dealt withal; yet all grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my tongue, or conceive with my heart, the great grievances that the town and country for which I serve suffereth by some of these monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a private hand, and the end of all this is beggary and bondage to the subjects. We have a law for the true and faithful currying of leather: there is a patent sets all at liberty, notwithstanding that statute. And to what purpose is it to do any thing by act of Parliament, when the queen will undo the same by her prerogative? Out of the spirit of humiliation, Mr. Speaker, I do speak it, there is no act of hers that hath been or is more derogatory to her own majesty, more odious to the subject, more dangerous to the commonwealth, than the granting of these monopolies. Mr. Martin said, I do speak for a town that grieves and pines, for a country that groaneth and languisheth under the burden of monstrous and unconscionable substitutes to the monopolitans of starch, tin, fish, cloth, oil, vinegar, salt, and I know not what; nay, what not? The principalest commodities both of my town and country are engrost into the hands of these blood-suckers of the commonwealth. If a body, Mr. Speaker, being let blood, be left still languishing without any remedy, how can the good estate of that body still remain? Such is the state of my town and country: the traffic is taken away, the inward and private commodities are taken away, and dare not be used without the license of these monopolitans. If these blood-suckers be still let alone to suck up the best and principalest commodities which the earth there hath given us, what will become of us, from whom the fruits of our own soil, and the commodities of our own labour, which, with the sweat of our brows, even up to the knees in mire and dirt, we have laboured for, shall be taken by warrant of supreme authority, which the poor subject dare not gainsay? Mr. George Moore said, We know the power of her majesty cannot be restrained by any act: why, therefore, should we thus talk? Admit we should make this statute with a *non obstante;* yet the queen may grant a patent with a *non obstante*, to cross this *non obstante*. I think, therefore, it agreeth more with the gravity and wisdom of this House to proceed with all humbleness by petition than bill. Mr. Downland said, As I would be no let or over-vehement in any thing, so I am not sottish or senseless of the common grievance of the commonwealth. If we proceed by way of petition, we can have no more gracious answer than we had the last Parliament to our petition. But since that Parliament we have no reformation. Sir Robert Wroth said, I speak, and I speak it boldly, these patentees are worse than ever they were. Mr. Hayward Townsend proposed, that they should make suit to her majesty, not only to repeal all monopolies grievous to the subject, but also that it would please her majesty to give the Parliament leave to make an act, that they might be of no more force, validity, or effect, than they are at the common law, without the strength of her prerogative. Which though we might now do, and the act being so reasonable, we might assure ourselves her majesty would not delay the passing thereof; yet we, her loving subjects, &c., would not offer, without her privity and consent, (the cause so nearly touching her prerogative,) or go about to do any such act.

On a subsequent day the bill against monopolies was again introduced, and Mr. Spicer said, It is to no purpose to offer to tie her majesty's hands by act of Parliament, when she may loosen herself at her pleasure. Mr. Davies said, God hath given that power to absolute princes which he attributes to himself. *Dixi quod Dii estis.* (N.B. This axiom he applies to the kings of England.) Mr. Secretary Cecil said, I am servant to the queen, and before I would speak and give consent to a case that should debase her prerogative, or abridge it, I would wish that my tongue were cut out of my head. I am sure there were lawmakers before there were laws (meaning, I suppose, that the sovereign was above the laws). One gentleman went about to possess us with the execution of the law in an ancient record of 5 or 7 of Edward the Third; likely enough to be true in that time, when the king was afraid of the subject. If you stand upon law, and dispute of the prerogative, hark ye what Bracton says, *Prærogativam nostram nemo audeat disputare.* And for my own part, I like not these courses should be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, should perform the charge her majesty gave unto you in the beginning of this Parliament, not to receive bills of this nature; for her majesty's ears be open to all grievances, and her hands stretched out to every man's petitions. When the prince dispenses with a penal law, that is left to the alteration of sovereignty, that is good and irrevocable. Mr. Montague said, I am loth to speak what I know, lest, perhaps, I should displease. The prerogative royal is that which is now in question, and which the laws of the land have ever allowed and maintained. Let us therefore apply by petition to her majesty.

After the Speaker told the House that the queen had annulled many of the patents, Mr. Francis More said, I must confess, Mr. Speaker, I moved the House, both the last Parliament and this, touching this point; but I never meant (and I hope the House thinketh so) to set limits and bounds to the prerogative royal. He proceeds to move, that thanks should be given to her majesty; and also, that whereas divers speeches have been moved extravagantly in the House, which doubtless have been told her majesty, and perhaps ill conceived of by her, Mr. Speaker would apologize, and humbly crave pardon for the same. N.B. These extracts were taken by Townsend, a member of the House, who was no courtier; and the extravagance of the speeches seems rather to be on the other side: it will certainly appear strange to us that this liberty should be thought extravagant. However, the queen, notwithstanding her cajoling the House, was so ill satisfied with these proceedings, that she spoke of them peevishly in her concluding speech, and told them that she perceived that private respects with them were privately masked under public presence. D'Ewes, p. 619.

There were some other topics in favour of prerogative, still more extravagant, advanced in the House this Parliament. When the question of the subsidy was before them, Mr. Sergeant Heyle said, Mr. Speaker, I marvel much that the House should stand upon granting of a subsidy or the time of payment, when all we have is her majesty's, and she may lawfully at her pleasure take it from us: yea, she hath as much right to all our lands and goods as to any revenue of her crown. At which all the House hemmed, and laughed and talked. Well, quoth Sergeant Heyle, all your hemming shall not put me out of countenance. So Mr. Speaker stood up and said, It is a great disorder that this House should be so used. So the said sergeant proceeded, and when he had spoken a little while, the House hemmed again; and so he sat down. In his latter speech, he said, he could prove his former position by precedents in the time of Henry the Third, King John, King Stephen, &c., which was the occasion of their hemming. D'Ewes, p. 633. It is observable, that Heyle was an eminent lawyer, a man of character. Winwood, vol. i. p. 290. And though the House in general showed their disapprobation, no one cared to take him down, or oppose these monstrous positions. It was also asserted this session, that in the same manner as the Roman consul was possessed of the power of rejecting or admitting motions in the senate, the Speaker might either admit or reject bills in the House. D'Ewes, p. 677. The House declared themselves against this opinion; but the very proposal of it is a proof at what a low ebb liberty was at that time in England.

In the year 1591, the judges made a solemn decree, that England was an absolute empire, of which the king was the head. In consequence of this opinion, they determined that, even if the act of the first of Elizabeth had never been made, the king was supreme head of the church, and might have erected by his prerogative such a court as the ecclesiastical commission; for that he was the head of all his subjects. Now that court was plainly arbitrary. The inference is, that his power was equally absolute over the laity. See Coke's Reports, p. 5. Caudrey's case.

NOTE [U], p. 200.

We have remarked before, that Harrison, in book ii. chap. 11, says, that in the reign of Henry VIII. there were hanged seventy-two thousand thieves and rogues (*besides other malefactors*); this makes about two thousand a year: but in Queen

Elizabeth's time, the same author says, there were only between three and four hundred a year hanged for theft and robbery ; so much had the times mended. But in our age there are not forty a year hanged for those crimes in all England. Yet Harrison complains of the relaxation of the laws, that there were so few such rogues punished in his time. Our vulgar prepossession in favour of the morals of former and rude ages is very absurd and ill grounded. The same author says, chap. 10, that there were computed to be ten thousand gipsies in England ; a species of banditti introduced about the reign of Henry VIII. : and he adds, that there will be no way of extirpating them by the ordinary course of justice ; the queen must employ martial law against them. That race has now almost totally disappeared in England, and even in Scotland, where there were some remains of them a few years ago. However arbitrary the exercise of martial law in the crown, it appears that nobody in the age of Elizabeth entertained any jealousy of it.

NOTE [X], p. 208.

Harrison, in his Description of Britain, printed in 1577, has the following passage, chap. 13 : " Certes, there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful sort of ships than the Queen's Majesty of England at this present ; and those generally are of such exceeding force, that two of them, being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of them of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home. The queen's highness hath at this present already made and furnished to the number of one and twenty great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham road. Beside these, her grace hath other in hand also ; of whom hereafter, as their turns do come about, I will not let to leave some farther remembrance. She hath likewise three notable gallies, the Speedwell, the Tryeright, and the Black Galley, with the sight whereof, and the rest of the navy royal, it is incredible to say how marvellously her grace is delighted ; and not without great cause, sith by their means her coasts are kept in quiet, and sundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwise would invade us." After speaking of the merchant-ships, which he says are commonly estimated at seventeen or eighteen hundred, he continues : " I add, therefore, to the end all men should understand somewhat of the *great masses of treasure* daily employed upon our navy, how there are few of those ships of the first and second sort, (that is, of the merchant-ships,) that, being appareled and made ready to sail, are not worth one thousand pounds, or three thousand ducats at the least, if they should presently be sold. What shall we then think of the navy royal, of which some one vessel is worth two of the other, as the shipwright has often told me ? It is possible that some covetous person, hearing this report, will either not credit at all, or suppose money so employed to be nothing profitable to the queen's coffers, as a good husband said once, when he heard that provisions should be made for armour, wishing the queen's money to be rather laid out to some speedier return of gain unto her grace : but if he wist that the good keeping of the sea is the safeguard of our land, he would alter his censure, and soon give over his judgment. *Speaking of the forests, this author says,* An infinite deal of wood hath been destroyed within these few years ; and I dare affirm, that if wood do go so fast to decay in the next hundred years of grace, as they have done, or are like to do, in this, it is to be feared that sea-coal will be good merchandise even in the city of London." Harrison's prophecy was fulfilled in a very few years ; for about 1615 there were two hundred sail employed in carrying coal to London. See Anderson, vol. i. p. 494.

NOTE [Y], p. 214.

Life of Burleigh, published by Collins, p. 44. The author hints, that this quantity of plate was considered only as small in a man of Burleigh's rank. His words are, *his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds :* that he means pound weight is evident. For, by Burleigh's will, which is annexed to his life, that nobleman gives away, in legacies to friends and relations, near four thousand pounds weight, which would have been above twelve thousand pounds sterling in value. The remainder he orders to be divided into two equal portions, the half to his eldest son and heir, the other half to be divided equally among his second son and three daughters. Were we therefore to understand the whole value of plate to be only fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds sterling, he left not the tenth of it to the heir of his family.

NOTE [Z], p. 214.

Harrison says, "The greatest part of our building in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only of timber, cast over with thick clay to keep out the wind. Certes, this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in Queen Mary's days to wonder; but chiefly when they saw that large diet was used in many of these so homely cottages; insomuch that one of no small reputation amongst them said after this manner: These English, quoth he, have their houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth, that he liked better of our good fare in such coarse cabins, than of their own thin diet in their princely habitations and palaces. The clay with which our houses are commonly impaneled is either white, red, or blue." Book ii. chap. 12. The author adds, that the new houses of the nobility are commonly of brick or stone, and that glass windows were beginning to be used in England.

NOTE [AA], p. 216

The following are the words of Roger Ascham, the queen's preceptor;—"It is your shame, (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England,) that one maid should go beyond ye all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. Point out six of the best-given gentlemen of this court, and all they together show not so much good-will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the queen's majesty herself. Yea, I believe that, besides her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day than some prebendary of this church doth Latin in a whole week.—Amongst all the benefits which God had blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning," &c. Page 242. "Truly," says Harrison, "it is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language: and to say how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that, besides sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me; sith I am persuaded, that as the noblemen and gentlemen do surmount in this behalf, so these come little or nothing at all behind them for their parts; which industry God continue!—The stranger, that entereth in the court of England upon the sudden, shall rather imagine himself to come into some public school of the university, where many give ear to one that readeth unto them, than into a prince's palace, if you confer thus with those of other nations." Description of Britain, book ii. chap. 15. By this account the court had profited by the example of the queen. The sober way of life practised by the ladies of Elizabeth's court appears from the same author. Reading, spinning, and needle-work occupied the elder; music the younger. Id. ibid.

NOTE [BB], p. 233.

Sir Charles Cornwallis, the king's ambassador at Madrid, when pressed by the Duke of Lerma to enter into a league with Spain, said to that minister: "Though his majesty was an *absolute* king, and therefore not bound to give an account to any of his actions; yet that so gracious and regardful a prince he was of the love and contentment of his own subjects, as I assured myself he would not think it fit to do any thing of so great consequence without acquainting them with his intentions." Winwood, vol. ii. p. 222. Sir Walter Raleigh has this passage in the preface to his History of the World: "Philip II. by strong hand and main force, attempted to make himself not only an *absolute monarch* over the Netherlands, like unto the kings and monarchs of England and France, but, Turk-like, to tread under his feet all their natural and fundamental laws, privileges, and ancient rights." We meet with this passage in Sir John Davis's Question concerning Impositions, p. 161. "Thus we see by this comparison, that the King of England doth lay but his little finger upon his subjects, when other princes and states do lay their heavy loins upon their people. What is the reason of this difference? From whence cometh it? Assuredly not from a different power or prerogative: for the King of England is as absolute a monarch as any emperor or king in the world, and hath as many prerogatives incident to his crown." Coke, in Cawdry's case, says, "That by the ancient laws of this realm, England is an *absolute* empire and monarchy; and that the king is furnished with plenary and entire power, prerogative, and jurisdiction, and is supreme governor over all persons within this realm." Spencer, speaking of some grants of the English kings to the Irish corporations, says, "All which, though at the time of their first grant they were tolerable, and perhaps reasonable, yet now are most unreasonable and inconvenient. But all these will easily be cut off, with the superior power of her majesty's prerogative, against which her own grants are not to be pleaded or enforced." State of Ireland, p. 1537, edit. 1706. The same author, in p. 1660, proposes a plan for the civilization of Ireland: that the queen should create a provost marshal in every county, who might ride about with eight or ten followers in search of stragglers and vagabonds: the first time he catches any, he may punish them more lightly by the stocks; the second time, by whipping; but the third time he may hang them, without trial or process, on the first bough: and he thinks, that this authority may more safely be entrusted to the provost marshal than to the sheriff; because the latter magistrate, having a profit by the escheats of felons, may be tempted to hang innocent persons. Here a real absolute or rather despotic power is pointed out; and we may infer from all these passages, either that the word *absolute* bore a different sense from what it does at present, or that men's ideas of the English as well as Irish government were then different. This latter inference seems juster. The word, being derived from the French, bore always the same sense as in that language. An absolute monarchy, in Charles I.'s answer to the nineteen propositions, is opposed to a limited; and the King of England is acknowledged not to be absolute: so much had matters changed even before the civil war. In Sir John Fortescue's Treatise of Absolute and Limited Monarchy, a book written in the reign of Edward the IVth, the word *absolute* is taken in the same sense as at present; and the government of England is also said not to be absolute. They were the princes of the house of Tudor chiefly, who introduced that administration which had the appearance of absolute government. The princes before them were restrained by the barons, as those after them by the House of Commons. The people had, properly speaking, little liberty in either of these ancient governments, but least in the more ancient.

NOTE [CC], p. 234.

Even this Parliament, which showed so much spirit and good sense in the affair of Goodwin, made a strange concession to the crown in their fourth session. Toby Mathews, a member, had been banished by order of the council upon direction from his majesty. The Parliament not only acquiesced in this arbitrary proceeding, but issued writs for a new election. Such novices were they as yet in the principles of liberty! See Journ. 14th Feb. 1609. Mathews was banished by the king, on account of his change of religion to popery. The king had an indulgence to those who had been educated Catholics, but could not bear the new converts. It was probably the animosity of the Commons against the papists which made them acquiesce in this precedent without reflecting on the consequences! The jealousy of liberty, though roused, was not yet thoroughly enlightened.

NOTE [DD], p. 236.

At that time men of genius and of enlarged minds had adopted the principles of liberty, which were as yet pretty much unknown to the generality of the people. Sir Matthew Hale has published a remonstrance against the king's conduct towards the Parliament during this session. The remonstrance is drawn with great force of reasoning and spirit of liberty; and was the production of Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Edwin Sandys, two men of the greatest parts and knowledge in England. It is drawn in the name of the Commons; but as there is no hint of it in the Journals, we must conclude, either that the authors, sensible that the strain of the piece was much beyond the principles of the age, had not ventured to present it to the House, or that it had been for that reason rejected. The dignity and authority of the Commons are strongly insisted upon in this remonstrance; and it is there said, that their submission to the ill treatment which they received during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign had proceeded from their tenderness towards her age and her sex. But the authors are mistaken in these facts; for the house received and submitted to as bad treatment in the beginning and middle of that reign. The government was equally arbitrary in Mary's reign, in Edward's, and in Harry the Eighth and Seventh's. And the farther we go back into history, though there might be more of a certain irregular kind of liberty among the barons, the Commons were still of less authority.

NOTE [EE], p. 240.

This Parliament passed an act of recognition of the king's title in the most ample terms. They recognized and acknowledged, that immediately upon the dissolution and decease of Elizabeth, late Queen of England, the imperial crown thereof did, by inherent birthright and lawful and undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole heir of the blood royal of this realm. 1 James I. cap. i. The puritans, though then prevalent, did not think proper to dispute this great constitutional point. In the recognition of Queen Elizabeth, the Parliament declares, that the queen's highness is, and in very deed and of most mere right ought to be, by the laws of God and by the laws and statutes of this realm, our most lawful and rightful sovereign, liege lady and queen, &c. It appears then, that if King James's *divine right* be not mentioned by Parliament, the omission came merely from chance, and because that phrase did not occur to the compiler of the recognition; his title being plainly the same with that of his predecessor, who was allowed to have a *divine* right.

NOTE [FF], p. 247.

Some historians have imagined, that the king had secret intelligence of the conspiracy, and that the letter to Monteagle was written by his direction, in order to obtain the praise of penetration in discovering the plot. But the known facts refute this supposition. That letter, being commonly talked of, might naturally have given an alarm to the conspirators, and made them contrive their escape. The visit of the lord chamberlain ought to have had the same effect. In short, it appears that nobody was arrested or inquired after for some days, till Fawkes discovered the names of the conspirators. We may infer, however, from a letter in Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 171, that Salisbury's sagacity led the king in his conjectures, and that the minister, like an artful courtier, gave his master the praise of the whole discovery.

NOTE [GG], p. 260.

We find the king's answer in Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 193, 2d edition. "To the third and fourth (namely, that it might be lawful to arrest the king's servants without leave, and that no man should be enforced to lend money, nor to give a reason why he would not) his majesty sent us an answer: that because we brought precedents of antiquity to strengthen those demands, he allowed not of any precedents drawn from the time of usurping or decaying princes, or people too bold and wanton; that he desired not to govern in that commonwealth where subjects should be assured of all things, and hope for nothing. It was one thing *submittere principatum legibus*, and another thing *submittere principatum subditis*. That he would not leave to posterity such a mark of weakness upon his reign; and therefore his conclusion was *non placet petitio, non placet exemplum:* yet with this mitigation, that in matters of loans he would refuse no reasonable excuse, nor should my lord chamberlain deny the arresting of any of his majesty's servants, if just cause was shown." The Parliament, however, acknowledged at this time, with thankfulness to the king, that he allowed disputes and inquiries about his prerogative, much beyond what had been indulged by any of his predecessors. Parliament. Hist. vol. v. p. 230. This very session he expressly gave them leave to produce all their grievances without exception.

NOTE [HH], p. 263.

It may not be unworthy of observation, that James, in a book called *The True Laws of Free Monarchies*, which he published a little before his accession to the crown of England, affirmed, "That a good king, although he be above the law, will subject and frame his actions thereto for example's sake to his subjects, and of his own free will, but not as subject or bound thereto." In another passage, "According to the fundamental law already alleged, we daily see, that in the Parliament (which is nothing else but the head court of the king and his vassals) the laws are but craved by his subjects, and only made by him at their rogation and with their advice. For albeit the king *make daily* statutes and ordinances, enjoining such pains thereto as he thinks meet without any advice of Parliament or estates; yet it lies in the power of no Parliament to make any kind of law or statute, without his sceptre be to it, for giving it the force of a law." King James's Works, p. 202. It is not to be supposed, that, at such a critical juncture, James had so little sense as directly, in so material a point, to have openly shocked what were the universal established principles of that age: on the contrary, we are told by historians that nothing tended more to facilitate his accession, than the good opinion entertained of him by the English on account of his learned and judicious writings. The question, however, with regard to the royal power, was, at this time, become a very dangerous point: and without employing ambiguous insignificant terms, which determined nothing, it was impossible to please both King and Parliament. Dr. Cowell, who had magnified the prerogative in words too intelligible, fell this session under the indignation of the Commons. Parliament. Hist. vol. v. p. 221. The king himself, after all his magnificent boasts, was obliged to make his escape through a distinction which he framed between a king *in abstracto* and a king *in concreto:* an abstract king, he said, had all power; but a concrete king was bound to observe the laws of the country which he governed. King James's Works, p. 533. But how bound? By conscience only? Or might his subjects resist him and defend their privileges? This he thought not fit to explain. And so difficult is it to explain that point, that to this day, whatever liberties may be used by private inquirers, the laws have, very prudently, thought proper to maintain a total silence with regard to it.

NOTE [II], p. 277.

Parl. Hist. vol. v. p. 290. So little fixed at this time were the rules of Parliament, that the Commons complained to the peers of a speech made in the Upper House by the Bishop of Lincoln; which it belonged only to that House to censure, and which the other could not regularly be supposed to be acquainted with. These at least are the rules established since the Parliament became a real seat of power and scene of business. Neither the king must take notice of what passes in either House, nor either House of what passes in the other, till regularly informed of it. The Commons, in their famous protestation, 1621, fixed this rule with regard to the king, though at present they would not bind themselves by it. But as liberty was yet new, those maxims which guard and regulate it were unknown and unpractised.

NOTE [KK], p. 297.

Some of the facts in this narrative, which seem to condemn Raleigh, are taken from the king's declaration, which, being published by authority, when the facts were recent, being extracted from examinations before the privy council, and subscribed by six privy counsellors, among whom was Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate nowise complaisant to the court, must be allowed to have great weight, or rather to be of undoubted credit. Yet the most material facts are confirmed either by the nature and reason of the thing, or by Sir Walter's own apology and his letters. The king's declaration is in the Harleyan Miscellany, vol. iii. No. 2.

1. There seems to be an improbability that the Spaniards, who knew nothing of Raleigh's pretended mine, should have built a town, in so wide a coast, within three miles of it. The chances are extremely against such a supposition: and it is more natural to think, that the view of plundering the town led him thither, than that of working a mine. 2. No such mine is there found to this day. 3. Raleigh in fact found no mine, and in fact he plundered and burnt a Spanish town. Is it not more probable, therefore, that the latter was his intention? How can the secrets of his breast be rendered so visible as to counterpoise certain facts? 4. He confesses, in his letter to Lord Carew, that though he knew it, yet he concealed from the king

the settlement of the Spaniards on that coast. Does not this fact alone render him sufficiently criminal? 5. His commission empowers him only to settle on a coast possessed by savage and barbarous inhabitants. Was it not the most evident breach of orders to disembark on a coast possessed by Spaniards? 6. His orders to Keymis, when he sent him up the river, are contained in his own apology, and from them it appears, that he knew (what was unavoidable) that the Spaniards would resist, and would oppose the English landing and taking possession of the country. His intentions, therefore, were hostile from the beginning. 7. Without provocation, and even when at a distance, he gave Keymis orders to dislodge the Spaniards from their own town. Could any enterprise be more hostile? And, considering the Spaniards as allies to the nation, could any enterprise be more criminal? Was he not the aggressor, even though it should be true that the Spaniards fired upon his men at landing? It is said he killed three or four hundred of them. Is that so light a matter? 8. In his letter to the king, and in his apology, he grounds his defence on former hostilities exercised by the Spaniards against other companies of Englishmen. These are accounted for by the ambiguity of the treaty between the nations. And it is plain, that though these might possibly be reasons for the king's declaring war against that nation, they could never entitle Raleigh to declare war, and without any commission, or contrary to his commission, to invade the Spanish settlements. He pretends indeed that peace was never made with Spain in the Indies: a most absurd notion! The chief hurt which the Spaniards could receive from England was in the Indies; and they never would have made peace at all, if hostilities had been still to be continued on these settlements. By secret agreement, the English were still allowed to support the Dutch, even after the treaty of peace. If they had also been allowed to invade the Spanish settlements, the treaty had been a full peace to England, while the Spaniards were still exposed to the full effects of war. 9. If the claim to the property of that country, as first discoverers, was good, in opposition to present settlement, as Raleigh pretends, why was it not laid before the king with all its circumstances, and submitted to his judgment? 10. Raleigh's force is acknowledged by himself to have been insufficient to support him in the possession of St. Thomas, against the power of which Spain was master on that coast; yet it was sufficient, as he owns, to take by surprise and plunder twenty towns. It was not, therefore, his design to settle, but to plunder. By these confessions, which I have here brought together, he plainly betrays himself. 11. Why did he not stay and work his mine, as at first he projected? He apprehended that the Spaniards would be upon him with a greater force. But before he left England, he knew that this must be the case, if he invaded any part of the Spanish colonies. His intention, therefore, never was to settle, but only to plunder. 12. He acknowledges that he knew neither the depth nor riches of the mine, but only that there was some ore there. Would he have ventured all his fortune and credit on so precarious a foundation? 13. Would the other adventurers, if made acquainted with this, have risked every thing to attend him? Ought a fleet to have been equipped for an experiment? Was there not plainly an imposture in the management of this affair? 14. He says to Keymis, in his orders, bring but a basketful of ore, and it will satisfy the king that my project was not imaginary. This was easily done from the Spanish mines; and he seems to have been chiefly displeased at Keymis for not attempting it. Such a view was a premeditated apology to cover his cheat. 15. The king in his declaration imputes it to Raleigh, that as soon as he was at sea, he immediately fell into such uncertain and doubtful talk of his mine, and said, that it would be sufficient if he brought home a basketful of ore. From the circumstance last mentioned, it appears that this imputation was not without reason. 16. There are many other circumstances of great weight in the king's declaration: that Raleigh, when he fell down to Plymouth, took no pioneers with him, which he always declared to be his intention; that he was nowise provided with instruments for working a mine, but had a sufficient stock of warlike stores; that young Raleigh in attacking the Spaniards, employed the words which, in the narration, I have put in his mouth; that the mine was moveable, and shifted as he saw convenient: not to mention many other public facts, which prove him to have been highly criminal against his companions as well as his country. Howel, in his letters, says, that there lived in London, in 1645, an officer, a man of honour, who asserted that he heard young Raleigh speak these words, vol. ii. letter 63. That was a time when there was no interest in maintaining such a fact. 17. Raleigh's account of his first voyage to Guiana proves him to have been a man capable of the most extravagant credulity or most impudent imposture; so ridiculous are the stories which he tells of the inca's chimerical empire in the midst of Guiana ; the rich city of El Dorado, or Manao, two days' journey in length, and shining with gold and silver ; the old Peruvian prophecies in favour of the English, who, he says, were expressly named as the deliverers of that country long before any European had ever touched there ; the Amazons, or republic of women ; and in general, the vast and incredible riches which he saw on that continent, where nobody has yet found any treasures ! This whole narrative is a proof that he was extremely defective either in solid understanding, or morals, or both. No man's character, indeed, seems ever to have been carried to such extremes as Raleigh's by the opposite passions of envy and pity. In the former part of his life, when he was active and lived in the world, and was probably best known, he was the object of universal hatred and detestation throughout England ; in the latter part, when shut up in prison, he became, much more unreasonably, the object of great love and admiration.

As to the circumstances of the narrative, that Raleigh's pardon was refused him, that his former sentence was purposely kept in force against him, and that he went out under these express conditions, they may be supported by the following authorities. 1. The king's word and that of six privy counsellors, who affirm it for fact. 2. The nature of the thing. If no suspicion had been entertained of his intentions, a pardon would never have been refused to a man to whom authority was entrusted. 3. The words of the commission itself, where he is simply styled Sir Walter Raleigh, and not *faithful and well-beloved*, according to the usual and never-failing style on such occasions. 4. In all the letters which he wrote home to Sir Ralph Winwood, and to his own wife, he always considers himself as a person unpardoned and liable to the law. He seems indeed, immediately upon the failure of his enterprise, to have become desperate, and to have expected the fate which he met with.

It is pretended that the king gave intelligence to the Spaniards of Raleigh's project ; as if he had needed to lay a plot for destroying a man whose life had been fourteen years, and still was in his power. The Spaniards wanted no other intelligence to be on their guard, than the known and public fact of Raleigh's armament : and there was no reason why the king should conceal from them the project of a settlement, which Raleigh pretended, and the king believed, to be entirely innocent.

The king's chief blame seems to have lain in his negligence, in allowing Raleigh to depart without a more exact scrutiny : but for this he apologizes by saying, that sureties were required for the good behaviour of Raleigh and all his associates in the enterprise, but that they gave in bonds for each other ; a cheat which was not perceived till they had sailed, and which increased the suspicion of bad intentions.

Perhaps the king ought also to have granted Raleigh a pardon for his old treason, and to have tried him anew for his new offences. His punishment in that case would not only have been just, but conducted in a just and unexceptionable manner. But we are told that a ridiculous opinion at that time prevailed in the nation, (and it is plainly supposed by Sir Walter in his apology,) that, by treaty, war was allowed with the Spaniards in the Indies, though peace was made in Europe : and while that notion took place, no jury would have found Raleigh guilty. So that had not the king punished him upon the old sentence, the Spaniards would have had a just cause of complaint against the king, sufficient to have produced a war, at least to have destroyed all cordiality between the nations.

This explication I thought necessary, in order to clear up the story of Raleigh ; which though very obvious, is generally mistaken in so gross a manner, that I scarcely know its parallel in the English history.

NOTE [LL], p. 304.

This Parliament is remarkable for being the epoch in which were first regularly formed, though without acquiring these denominations, the parties of court and country ; parties which have ever since continued, and which, while they oft threaten the total dissolution of the government, are the real cause of its permanent life and vigour. In the ancient feudal constitution, of which the English partook with other European nations, there was a mixture not of authority and liberty, which we have since enjoyed in this island, and which now subsist uniformly together ; but of authority and anarchy, which perpetually shocked with each other, and which took place alternately, according as circumstances were more or less favourable to either of them. A Parliament composed of barbarians, summoned from their fields and forests, uninstructed by study, conversation, or travel ; ignorant of their own laws and history, and unacquainted with the situation of all foreign nations ; a Parliament called precariously by the king, and dissolved at his pleasure; sitting a few days, debating a few points prepared for them, and whose members were impatient to return to their own castles, where alone they were great, and to the chase, which was their favourite amusement : such a Parliament was very little fitted to enter into a discussion of all the questions of government, and to share, in a regular manner, the legal administration. The name, the authority of the king alone appeared in the common course of government ; in extraordinary emergencies, he assumed, with still better reason, the sole direction ; the imperfect and unformed laws left, in every thing, a latitude of interpretation ; and when the ends pursued by the monarch were, in general, agreeable to his subjects, little scruple or jealousy was entertained with regard to the regularity of the means. During the reign of an able, fortunate, or popular prince, no member of either House, much less of the lower, durst think of entering into a formed party, in opposition to the court ; since the dissolution of the Parliament must, in a few days, leave him, unprotected, to the vengeance of his sovereign, and to those stretches of prerogative which were then so easily made in order to punish an obnoxious subject. During an unpopular and weak reign, the current commonly ran so strong against the monarch, that none durst enlist themselves in the court party ; or if the prince was able to engage any considerable barons on his side, the question was decided with arms in the field, not by debates or arguments in a senate or assembly. And upon the whole, the chief circumstance which, during ancient times, retained the prince in any legal form of administration, was, that the sword, by the nature of the feudal tenures, remained still in the hands of his subjects ; and this irregular and dangerous check had much more influence than the regular and methodical limits of the laws and constitution. As the nation could not be compelled, it was necessary that every public measure of consequence, particularly that of levying new taxes, should seem to be adopted by common consent and approbation.

The princes of the house of Tudor, partly by the vigour of their administration, partly by the concurrence of favourable circumstances, had been able to establish a more regular system of government ; but they drew the constitution so near to despotism, as diminished extremely the authority of the Parliament. The senate became, in a great degree, the organ of royal will and pleasure : opposition would have been regarded as a species of rebellion : and even religion, the most dangerous article in which innovations could be introduced, had admitted, in the course of a few years, four several alterations, from the authority alone of the sovereign. The Parliament was not then the road to honour and preferment : the talents of popular intrigue and eloquence were uncultivated and unknown : and though that assembly still preserved authority, and retained the privilege of making laws and bestowing public money, the members acquired not, upon that account, either with prince or people, much more weight and consideration. What powers were necessary for conducting the machine of government, the king was accustomed, of himself, to assume. His own revenues supplied him with money sufficient for his ordinary expenses ; and when extraordinary emergencies occurred, the prince needed not to solicit votes in Parliament, either for making laws or imposing taxes, both of which were now become requisite for public interest and preservation.

The security of individuals, so necessary to the liberty of popular councils, was totally unknown in that age. And as no despotic princes, scarcely even the eastern tyrants, rule entirely without the concurrence of some assemblies, which supply both advice and authority, little but a mercenary force seems then to have been wanting towards the establishment of a simple monarchy in England. The militia, though more favourable to regal authority than the feudal institutions, was much inferior, in this respect, to disciplined armies ; and if it did not preserve liberty to the people, it preserved at least the power, if ever the inclination should arise, of recovering it.

But so low, at that time, ran the inclination towards liberty, that Elizabeth, the last of that arbitrary line, herself no less arbitrary, was yet the most renowned and most popular of all the sovereigns that had filled the throne of England. It was natural for James to take the government as he found it, and to pursue her measures, which he heard so much applauded ; nor did his penetration extend so far as to discover, that neither his circumstances nor his character could support so extensive an authority. His narrow revenues and little frugality began now to render him dependent on his people, even in the ordinary course of administration :

their increasing knowledge discovered to them that advantage which they had obtained, and made them sensible of the inestimable value of civil liberty; and as he possessed too little dignity to command respect, and too much good nature to impress fear, a new spirit discovered itself every day in the Parliament; and a party, watchful of a free constitution, was regularly formed in the House of Commons.

But notwithstanding these advantages acquired to liberty, so extensive was royal authority, and so firmly established in all its parts, that it is probable the patriots of that age would have despaired of ever resisting it, had they not been stimulated by religious motives, which inspire a courage unsurmountable by any human obstacle.

The same alliance which has ever prevailed between kingly power and ecclesiastical authority was now fully established in England; and while the prince assisted the clergy in suppressing schismatics and innovators, the clergy, in return, inculcated the doctrine of an unreserved submission and obedience to the civil magistrate. The genius of the church of England, so kindly to monarchy, forwarded the confederacy; its submission to episcopal jurisdiction; its attachment to ceremonies, to order, and to a decent pomp and splendour of worship; and, in a word, its affinity to the tame superstition of the catholics, rather than to the wild fanaticism of the puritans.

On the other hand, opposition to the church, and the persecutions under which they laboured, were sufficient to throw the puritans into the country party, and to beget political principles little favourable to the high pretensions of the sovereign. The spirit too of enthusiasm, bold, daring, and uncontrolled, strongly disposed their minds to adopt republican tenets; and inclined them to arrogate, in their actions and conduct, the same liberty which they assumed in their rapturous flights and ecstasies. Ever since the first origin of that sect, through the whole reign of Elizabeth as well as of James, *puritanical* principles had been understood in a double sense, and expressed the opinions favourable both to political and to ecclesiastical liberty: and as the court, in order to discredit all parliamentary opposition, affixed the denomination of puritans to its antagonists, the religious puritans willingly adopted this idea, which was so advantageous to them, and which confounded their cause with that of the patriots or country party. Thus were the civil and ecclesiastical factions regularly formed; and the humour of the nation during that age running strongly towards fanatical extravagances, the spirit of civil liberty gradually revived from its lethargy, and by means of its religious associate, from which it reaped more advantage than honour, it secretly enlarged its dominion over the greater part of the kingdom.

This note was in the first editions a part of the text; but the author omitted it, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the style of dissertation in the body of his history. The passage, however, contains views so important, that he thought it might be admitted as a note.

NOTE [MM], p. 312.

This protestation is so remarkable, that it may not be improper to give it in its own words. "The Commons now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of Parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this protestation following: That the liberties, franchises, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the House of Parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters, in such order as in their judgment shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said House hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation, (other than by censure of the House itself,) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament or parliament business; and that if any of the said members be complained of, or questioned for any thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shown to the king by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the king give credence to any private information." Franklyn, p. 65. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 53. Kennet, p. 747. Coke, p. 77.

NOTE [NN], p. 333.

The moment the prince embarked at St. Andero's, he said to those about him, that it was folly in the Spaniards to use him so ill, and allow him to depart; a proof that the duke had made him believe they were insincere in the affair of the marriage and the palatinate: for as to his reception in other respects, it had been altogether unexceptionable. Besides, had not the prince believed the Spaniards to be insincere, he had no reason to quarrel with them, though Buckingham had. It appears, therefore, that Charles himself must have been deceived. The multiplied delays of the dispensation, though they arose from accident, afforded Buckingham a plausible pretext for charging the Spaniards with insincerity.

NOTE [OO], p. 334.

Among other particulars, he mentions a sum of 80,000 pounds borrowed from the King of Denmark. In a former speech to the Parliament, he told them, that he had expended 500,000 pounds in the cause of the palatine, besides the voluntary contribution given him by the people. See Franklyn, p. 50. But what is more extraordinary, the treasurer, in order to show his own good services, boasts to the Parliament, that, by his contrivance, 60,000 pounds had been saved in the article of exchange in the sums remitted to the palatine. This seems a great sum, nor is it easy to conceive whence the king could procure such vast sums as would require a sum so considerable to be paid in exchange. From the whole, however, it appears that the king had been far from neglecting the interests of his daughter and son-in-law, and had even gone far beyond what his narrow revenue could afford.

NOTE [PP], p. 335.

How little this principle had prevailed, during any former period of the English government, particularly during the last reign, which was certainly not so perfect a model of liberty as most writers would represent it, will easily appear from many passages in the history of that reign. But the ideas of men were much changed, during about twenty years of a gentle and peaceful administration. The Commons, though James, of himself, had recalled all patents of monopolies, were not contented without a law against them, and a declaratory law too; which was gaining a great point, and establishing principles very favourable to liberty: but they were extremely grateful when Elizabeth, upon petition, (after having once refused their requests,) recalled a few of the most oppressive patents, and employed some soothing expressions towards them.

The Parliament had surely reason, when they confessed, in the seventh of James, that he allowed them more freedom of debate than ever was indulged by any of his predecessors. His indulgence in this particular, joined to his easy temper, was probably one cause of the great power assumed by the Commons. Monsieur de la Boderie, in his Despatches, vol. i. p. 449, mentions the liberty of speech in the House of Commons as a new practice.

NOTE [QQ], p. 340.

Rymer, tom. xviii. p. 224. It is certain that the young Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., had Protestant governors from his early infancy: first the Earl of Newcastle, then the Marquis of Hertford. The king, in his memorial to foreign churches, after the commencement of the civil wars, insists on his care in educating his children in the Protestant religion, as a proof that he was nowise inclined to the Catholic. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 752. It can scarcely, therefore, be questioned, but this article, which had so odd an appearance, was inserted only to amuse the pope, and was never intended by either party to be executed.

NOTE [RR], p. 348.

"Monarchies," according to Sir Walter Raleigh, "are of two sorts, touching their power or authority: *viz.* 1. Entire, where the whole power of ordering all state matters, both in peace and war, doth by law and custom appertain to the prince, as in the English kingdom; where the prince hath the power to make laws, league, and war; to create magistrates; to pardon life; of appeal, &c. Though, to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a suffrage in making laws, yet ever subject to the prince's pleasure and negative will.—2. Limited or restrained, that hath no full power in all the points and matters of state, as the military king, that hath not the sovereignty in time of peace, as the making of laws, &c.; but in war only, as the Polonian king." Maxims of State.

And a little after: "In every just state, some part of the government is, or ought to be, imparted to the people; as, in a kingdom, a voice and suffrage in making laws: and sometimes also of levying of arms, (if the charge be great, and the prince forced to borrow help of his subjects,) the matter rightly may be propounded to a Parliament, that the tax may *seem* to have proceeded from themselves. So consultations and some proceedings in judicial matters may, in part, be referred to them. The reason, lest, seeing themselves to be in no number, nor of reckoning, they mislike the state or government." This way of reasoning differs little from that of King James, who considered the privileges of the Parliament as matters of grace and indulgence more than of inheritance. It is remarkable, that Raleigh was thought to lean towards the puritanical party, notwithstanding these positions. But ideas of government change much in different times.

Raleigh's sentiments on this head are still more openly expressed in his *Prerogative of Parliaments*, a work not published till after his death. It is a dialogue between a courtier or counsellor and a country justice of peace, who represents the patriot party, and defends the highest notions of liberty which the principles of that age would bear. Here is a passage of it: "*Counsellor.* That which is done by the king, with the advice of his private or privy council, is done by the king's absolute power. *Justice.* And by whose power is it done in Parliament, but by the king's absolute power? Mistake it not, my lord: the three estates do but advise, as the privy council doth; which advice, if the king embrace, it becomes the king's own act in the one, and the king's law in the other," &c.

The Earl of Clare, in a private letter to his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, thus expresses himself: "We live under a prerogative government, where book law submits to *lex loquens*." He spoke from his own and all his ancestors' experience. There was no single instance of power which a King of England might not, at that time, exert on pretence of necessity or expediency: the continuance alone or frequent repetition of arbitrary administration might prove dangerous for want of force to support it. It is remarkable that this letter of the Earl of Clare was written in the first year of Charles's reign, and consequently must be meant of the general genius of the government, not the spirit or temper of the monarch. See Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 32. From another letter in the same collection, vol. i. p. 10, it appears that the council sometimes assumed the power of forbidding persons disagreeable to the court to stand in the elections. This authority they could exert in some instances; but we are not thence to infer, that they could shut the door of that House to every one who was not acceptable to them. The genius of the ancient government reposed more trust in the king, than to entertain any such suspicion; and it allowed scattered instances of such a kind as would have been totally destructive of the constitution, had they been continued without interruption.

I have not met with any English writer in that age who speaks of England as a limited monarchy, but as an absolute one, where the people have many privileges. That is no contradiction. In all European monarchies the people have privileges; but whether dependent or independent on the will of the monarch, is a question that, in most governments, it is better to forbear. Surely that question was not determined before the age of James. The rising spirit of the Parliament, together with the king's love of general speculative principles, brought it from its obscurity, and made it be commonly canvassed. The strongest testimony that I remember from a writer of James's age, in favour of English liberty, is in Cardinal Bentivoglio, a foreigner, who mentions the English government as similar to that of the Low Country Provinces under their princes, rather than to that of France or Spain.

Englishmen were not so sensible that their prince was limited, because they were sensible that no individual had any security against a stretch of prerogative; but foreigners, by comparison, could perceive that these stretches were at that time, from custom or other causes, less frequent in England than in other monarchies. Philip de Comines, too, remarked the English constitution to be more popular in his time than that of France. But in a paper written by a patriot in 1627, it is remarked, that the freedom of speech in Parliament had been lost in England since the days of Comines. See Franklyn, p. 238. Here is a stanza of Malherbe's Ode to Mary de Medicis, the Queen-Regent, written in 1614.

Entre les rois à qui cet age
Doit son principal ornement,
Ceux de la Tamise et du Tage
Font louer leur gouvernement:
Mais en de si calmes provinces,
Où le peuple adore les princes,
Et met au gré le plus haut
L'honneur du sceptre legitime,
Sçauroit-on excuser le crime
De ne regner pas comme il faut?

The English as well as the Spaniards, are here pointed out as much more obedient subjects than the French, and much more tractable and submissive to their princes. Though this passage be taken from a poet, every man of judgment will allow its authority to be decisive. The character of a national government cannot be unknown in Europe, though it changes sometimes very suddenly. Machiavel, in his Dissertations on Livy, says repeatedly, that France was the most legal and most popular monarchy then in Europe.

NOTE [SS], p. 348.

Passive obedience is expressly and zealously inculcated in the homilies, composed and published by authority, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The convocation, which met in the very first year of the king's reign, voted as high monarchical principles as are contained in the decrees of the University of Oxford, during the rule of the tories. These principles, so far from being deemed a novelty introduced by James's influence, passed so smoothly that no historian has taken notice of them: they were never the subject of controversy, or dispute, or discourse; and it is only by means of Bishop Overall's Convocation-book, printed near seventy years after, that we are acquainted with them. Would James, who was so cautious, and even timid, have ventured to begin his reign with a bold stroke, which would have given just ground of jealousy to his subjects? It appears from that monarch's Basilicon Doron, written while he was in Scotland, that the republican ideas of the origin of power from the people were, at that time, esteemed puritanical novelties. The patriarchal scheme, it is remarkable, is inculcated in those votes of the convocation preserved by Overall; nor was Filmer the first inventor of those absurd notions.

NOTE [TT], p. 364.

That of the honest historian Stowe seems not to have been of this number. "The great blessings of God," says he, "through increase of wealth in the common subjects of this land, especially upon the citizens of London; such within men's memory, and chiefly within these few years of peace, that, except there were now due mention of some sort made thereof, it would in time to come be held incredible," &c. In another place, "Amongst the manifold tokens and signs of the infinite blessings of Almighty God bestowed upon this kingdom, by the wondrous and merciful establishment of peace within ourselves, and the full benefit of concord with all Christian nations and others: of all which graces let no man dare to presume he can speak too much; whereof in truth there can never be enough said, neither was there ever any people less considerate and less thankful than at this time, being not willing to endure the memory of their present happiness; as well as in the universal increase of commerce and traffic throughout the kingdom, great building of royal ships and by private merchants, the repeopling of cities, towns, and villages, beside the discernible and sudden increase of fair and costly buildings, as well within the city of London as the suburbs thereof, especially within these twelve years," &c.

NOTE [UU], p. 394.

By a speech of Sir Simon D'Ewes, in the first year of the Long Parliament, it clearly appears, that the nation never had, even to that time, been rightly informed concerning the transactions of the Spanish negotiation, and still believed the court of Madrid to have been altogether insincere in their professions. What reason, upon that supposition, had they to blame, either the prince or Buckingham for their conduct, or for the narrative delivered to the Parliament? This is a capital fact, and ought to be well attended to. D'Ewes's speech is in Nalson, vol. ii. p. 368. No author or historian of that age mentions the discovery of Buckingham's impostures as a cause of disgust in the Parliament. Whitelocke, p. 1, only says, that the Commons began to suspect *that it had been spleen in Buckingham,* not zeal for public good, *which had induced him to break the Spanish match:* a clear proof that his falsehood was not suspected. Wilson, p. 780, says, that Buckingham lost his popularity after Bristol arrived, not because that nobleman discovered to the world the falsehood of his narrative, but because he proved that Buckingham, while in Spain, had professed himself a papist; which is false, and which was never said by Bristol. In all the debates which remain, not the least hint is ever given that any falsehood was suspected in the narrative. I shall farther add, that even if the Parliament had discovered the deceit in Buckingham's narrative, this ought not to have altered their political measures, or made them refuse supply to the king. They had supposed it practicable to wrest the palatinate by arms from the house of Austria; they had represented it as prudent to expend the blood and treasure of the nation in such an enterprise; they had believed that the king of Spain never had any sincere intention of restoring that principality. It is certain, that he had not now any such intention: and though there was reason to suspect, that this alteration in his views had proceeded from the ill conduct of Buckingham, yet past errors could not be retrieved; and the nation was undoubtedly in the same situation which the Parliament had ever supposed, when they so much harassed their sovereign by their impatient, importunate, and even undutiful solicitations. To which we may add, that Charles himself was certainly deceived by Buckingham when he corroborated his favourite's narrative by his testimony. Party historians are somewhat inconsistent in their representations of these transactions: they represent the Spaniards as totally insincere, that they may reproach James with credulity in being so long deceived by them; they represent them as sincere, that they may reproach the king, the prince, and the duke, with falsehood in their narrative to the Parliament. The truth is, they were insincere at first; but the reasons, proceeding from bigotry, were not suspected by James, and were at last overcome. They became sincere; but the prince, deceived by the many unavoidable causes of delay, believed that they were still deceiving him.

NOTE [XX], p. 424.

This petition is of so great importance, that we shall here give it at length. "Humbly shew unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo,* that no tallage or aid shall be levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and, by authority of Parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III., it is declared and enacted, that, from thenceforth, no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land: and, by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge; by which the statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in Parliament.

"II. Yet nevertheless of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

"III. And whereas also, by the statute called *The Great Charter of the Liberties of England*, it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

"IV. And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of Parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

"V. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed: and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before justice, by your majesty's writs of *Habeas Corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to the law.

"VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

"VII. And whereas also, by authority of Parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III., it is declared and enacted, that no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the *Great Charter* and law of the land: and, by the said *Great Charter*, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of Parliament: and whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, under your majesty's great seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murther, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

"VIII. By pretext whereof some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

"IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions, as aforesaid: which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

"X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent, by act of Parliament: and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted, concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

"XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. And that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom."—*Stat.* 17 *Car. cap.* 14.

NOTE [YY], p. 435.

The reason assigned by Sir Philip Warwick, p. 2, for this unusual measure of the Commons, is, that they intended to deprive the crown of the prerogative, which it had assumed, of varying the rates of the impositions, and at the same time were resolved to cut off the new rates fixed by James. These were considerable diminutions both of revenue and prerogative; and whether they would have there stopped, considering their present disposition, may be much doubted. The king, it seems, and the Lords, were resolved not to trust them; nor to render a revenue once precarious, which perhaps they might never afterwards be able to get re-established on the old footing.

NOTE [ZZ], p. 465.

Here is a passage of Sir John Davis's Question concerning Impositions, p. 131. "This power of laying on arbitrarily new impositions being a prerogative in point of government, as well as in point of profit, it cannot be restrained or bound by act of Parliament; it cannot be limited by any certain or fixt rule of law, no more than the course of a pilot upon the sea, who must turn the helm, or bear higher or lower sail, according to the wind or weather; and therefore it may be properly said, that the king's prerogative, in this point, is as strong as *Samson:* it cannot be bound: for though an act of Parliament be made to restrain it, and the king doth give his consent unto it, as *Samson* was bound with his own consent, yet if the *Philistines* come, that is, if any just or important occasion do arise, it cannot hold or restrain the prerogative; it will be as thread, and broken as easy as the bonds of *Samson.*—The king's prerogatives are the sun-beams of the crown, and as inseparable from it as the sun-beams from the sun: The king's crown must be taken from him, *Samson's* hair must be cut off, before his courage can be any jot abated. Hence it is, that neither the king's act, nor any act of Parliament, can give away his prerogative."

NOTE [3 A], p. 509.

We shall here make use of the liberty, allowed in a note, to expatiate a little on the present subject. It must be confessed, that the king, in this declaration, touched upon that circumstance in the English constitution, which it is most difficult, or rather altogether impossible, to regulate by laws, and which must be governed by certain delicate ideas of propriety and decency, rather than by any exact rule or prescription. To deny the Parliament all right of remonstrating against what they esteem grievances, were to reduce that assembly to a total insignificancy, and to deprive the people of every advantage which they could reap from popular councils. To complain of the Parliament's employing the power of taxation as the means of extorting concessions from their sovereign, were to expect that they would entirely disarm themselves, and renounce the sole expedient provided by the constitution for ensuring to the kingdom a just and legal administration. In different periods of English story there occur instances of their remonstrating with their princes in the freest manner, and sometimes of their refusing supply, when disgusted with any circumstance of public conduct. It is, however, certain, that this power, though essential to Parliaments, may easily be abused, as well by the frequency and minuteness of their remonstrances, as by their intrusion into every part of the king's counsels and determinations. Under colour of advice, they may give disguised orders ; and in complaining of grievances, they may draw to themselves every power of government. Whatever measure is embraced, without consulting them, may be pronounced an oppression of the people ; and till corrected, they may refuse the most necessary supplies to their indigent sovereign. From the very nature of this parliamentary liberty, it is evident, that it must be left unbounded by law : for who can foretel how frequently grievances may occur, or what part of administration may be affected by them ? From the nature too of the human frame, it may be expected, that this liberty would be exerted in its full extent, and no branch of authority be allowed to remain unmolested in the hands of the prince. For, will the weak limitations of respect and decorum be sufficient to restrain human ambition, which so frequently breaks through all the prescriptions of law and justice ?

But here it is observable, that the wisdom of the English constitution, or rather the concurrence of accidents, has provided, in different periods, certain irregular checks to this privilege of Parliament, and thereby maintained, in some tolerable measure, the dignity and authority of the crown.

In the ancient constitution, before the beginning of the seventeenth century, the meetings of Parliament were precarious, and were not frequent. The sessions were short ; and the members had no leisure, either to get acquainted with each other, or with public business. The ignorance of the age made men more submissive to that authority which governed them. And, above all, the large demesnes of the crown, with the small expense of government during that period, rendered the prince almost independent, and taught the Parliament to preserve great submission and duty towards him.

In our present constitution, many accidents, which have rendered governments every where, as well as in Great Britain, much more burdensome than formerly, have thrown into the hands of the crown the disposal of a large revenue, and have enabled the king, by the private interest and ambition of the members, to restrain the public interest and ambition of the body. While the opposition (for we must still have an opposition, open or disguised) endeavours to draw every branch of administration under the cognizance of Parliament, the courtiers reserve a part to the disposal of the crown ; and the royal prerogative, though deprived of its ancient power, still maintains a due weight in the balance of the constitution.

It was the fate of the house of Stuart to govern England at a period when the former source of authority was already much diminished, and before the latter began to flow in any tolerable abundance. Without a regular and fixed foundation, the throne perpetually tottered ; and the prince sat upon it anxiously and precariously. Every expedient used by James and Charles, in order to support their dignity, we have seen attended with sensible inconveniences. The majesty of the crown, derived from ancient powers and prerogatives, procured respect, and checked the approaches of insolent intruders : but it begat in the king so high an idea of his own rank and station, as made him incapable of stooping to popular courses, or submitting in any degree to the control of parliament. The alliance with the hierarchy strengthened law by the sanction of religion ; but it enraged the puritanical party, and exposed the prince to the attacks of enemies, numerous, violent, and implacable. The memory too of these two kings, from like causes, has been attended, in some degree, with the same infelicity which pursued them during the whole course of their lives. Though it must be confessed, that their skill in government was not proportioned to the extreme delicacy of their situation ; a sufficient indulgence has not been given them, and all the blame, by several historians, has been unjustly thrown on *their* side. Their violations of law, particularly those of Charles, are, in some few instances, transgressions of a plain limit which was marked out to royal authority. But the encroachments of the Commons, though in the beginning less positive and determinate, are no less discernible by good judges, and were equally capable of destroying the just balance of the constitution. While they exercised the powers transmitted to them, in a manner more independent, and less compliant, than had ever before been practised; the kings were, perhaps imprudently, but, as they imagined, from necessity, tempted to assume powers, which had scarcely ever been exercised, or had been exercised in a different manner by the crown. And from the shock of these opposite pretensions, together with religious controversy, arose all the factions, convulsions, and disorders which attended that period.

This note was, in the first editions, a part of the text.

END OF VOL. IV.

Gilbert & Rivington, Printers, St. John's Square, London.

DATE DUE

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

CENTRAL BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
0 0021 0006305 2

942
H921
v. 4

Hume, David
AUTHOR

The history of England.
TITLE

40479

Date Due	Borrower's Name

942
H921 Hume, David
v. 4 The history of England ...

40479